Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-120
Monday
22 June 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-120 *2? June 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Hungary's Jeszenszky Addresses Forum on Europe *[MTI]* 2

ALBANIA

Berisha Returns Home, Summarizes U.S. Visit *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Berisha Calls for Balkans Regional Cooperation *[MTI]* 5
Government Hails Black Sea Cooperation Statement *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Minister of Defense To Halve Defense Expenditure *[ATA]* 6
Military Delegation Leaves for Bulgaria *[ATA]* 6
Meksi Receives Council of Europe Officials *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Nano Reelected Socialist Party Chairman *[Tirano Radio]* 7

BULGARIA

Foreign Ministry Denounces BSP Statement *[BTA]* 8
Import of Electric Power From Serbia Stopped *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Podkrepa Trade Union Organizes Dockers Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Bomb Scare Reported at Todorov Sentencing *[BTA]* 9
Dimitrov Ready To Help in Church Conflict *[BTA]* 9
Low Level of Army Combat Readiness Alleged *[VECHERNI NOVINI 10 Jun]* 10
Democratic Party Seen Striving for Power in SDS *[DUMA 10 Jun]* 10
Savov Denies Party Seeks To Leave SDS *[DEMOKRATSIYA 11 Jun]* 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Meciar, Klaus Announce Agreement To Split State *[Bratislava Radio]* 12
Havel Discusses Agreement *[Prague Radio]* 17
Klaus Views Results of Talks *[Prague Radio]* 19
Carnogursky Comments on Outcome of Talks *[CSTK]* 20
Czech, Slovak Press Reviews Agreement *[CSTK]* 20
Slovak Radio Comments on Agreement *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
Klaus Says New Federal Premier To Be Czech Citizen *[Prague Radio]* 23
Meciar Calls Klaus Comment 'Rash' *[Prague Radio]* 23
HZDS Nominates Chairman for Federal Premier *[Prague Radio]* 24
No Nominees Yet Recieved for 3 July Elections *[CSTK]* 24

HUNGARY

Antall Criticizes Communists at MDF Meeting *[MTI]* 25
President Goncz Discusses Media Situation *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Government Reviews Treaty on Power Plant *[MTI]* 25
Jovanovic, Jeszenszky Discuss Ethnic Hungarians *[TANJUG]* 26

POLAND

KPN Walks Out of Government Coalition Talks *[Warsaw TV]* 27
Walkout Leads to Impasse in Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 27
KPN Proposes Replacing Coalition Members *[PAP]* 27

Daily Claims Prime Minister Pawlak To Resign *[Warsaw Radio]* 27
ZChN Deputy Cited as New Walesa Choice *[Warsaw Radio]* 27
Parliament Discusses Draft of New Electoral Law *[PAP]* 27
Pawlak Urges Sejm To Dismiss Officials *[Warsaw Radio]* 28
Sejm Recalls Wlodarczyk, Macierewicz *[PAP]* 28
Prosecutor Proposes Trying Critics of Walesa *[Warsaw Radio]* 29
Walesa Accuses Olszewski of Overthrow Attempt *[PAP]* 29
Walesa Says Struggle for Power Deters Reforms *[PAP]* 30
Christan National Union Leader Interviewed *[GLOS WYBRZEZA 6-7 Jun]* 30

ROMANIA

Officials, Parties React to Events in Moldova 33
Foreign Ministry on Dniester Events *[Bucharest Radio]* 33
FSN Endorses Moldovan Leadership *[Bucharest Radio]* 33
Delegation Leader on Events *[ROMPRES]* 33
Ministry Denies Pilots Involved *[Bucharest Radio]* 34
Moldova Termed Romanian Territory *[Cologne Radio]* 34
Nation Will Observe FRY Embargo 'Strictly' *[ROMPRES]* 34
Romania, Azerbaijan Establish Diplomatic Ties *[ROMPRES]* 35
Miners Protest Economic Plan, Lack of Subsidies *[ROMPRES]* 35

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Presidency Declares Bosnia in 'State of War' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Orders Residents To Report for Duty *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Abdic 'Demands' U.S. Military Intervention *[Belgrade Radio]* 36
40,000 Reported Killed, 1.4 Million Displaced *[TANJUG]* 37
Serb Republic Denounces State of War Proclamation *[TANJUG]* 37
MacKenzie Says 'Neither Side' Kept Promises *[AFP]* 38
Dispute Reported Among Territorial, Croatian Units *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38

CROATIA

Foreign Minister Denies Military Pact With Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 39
Greguric Plans To Regain 'Historical' Territories *[TANJUG]* 39
Krajina Government Proclaims Mobilization *[TANJUG]* 40
Serb Withdrawal 'Going According to Plan' *[Zagreb Radio]* 40

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Presidency Holds Consultations With Party Leaders *[TANJUG]* 41
Cosic Names Presidency's New Secretary General *[TANJUG]* 41
National Bank Officials on Financial Chaos *[POLITIKA 6 Jun]* 41
Current Yugoslav Army Ordinance Detailed *[VREME 1 Jun]* 42

Serbia

Milosevic Agrees To Meet Tudjman, Izetbegovic *[TANJUG]* 43
DEPOS Open Letter to Army Calls for Restraint *[TANJUG]* 44
Belgrade Professors Support Students' Demands *[TANJUG]* 44

Romania

Bucharest radio, citing a Foreign Ministry statement, reports that Russia's 14th Army "openly broke the neutrality to which it had committed itself" when the army issued an "ultimatum" and started "committing acts of force" against the "sovereign" and "independent" Republic of Moldova. In response to the conflict, in remarks to Cologne radio, State Secretary in the Romanian Foreign Ministry Ionel Sandulescu said: "The Republic of Moldova was, is, and will forever remain Romanian territory." He added that "the government in Bucharest is affected directly by Moldova's conflict with the seceded Dniester Republic." He concluded that the "supreme objective" of the Romanian Government is "not to get involved in the conflict in any way," but "war might be imminent."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

At a news conference in the Presidency building, a spokesman annouced that "as of today Bosnia-Hercegovina is in a state of war," reports Sarajevo radio. Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Staff of the Territorial Defense, issued an order stating "all persons who possess arms and ammunition will be incorporated in the combat units of the army or the police."

Czechoslovakia

In a 19 June press conference carried by Prague and Bratislava Radio, Slovak leader Vladimir Meciar and Czech leader Vaclav Klaus announced an agreement to set up a reduced federal government that will examine the possibility of the breakup of the federation into two independent states. According to the agreement, the two sides intend to prepare "the conditions for a smooth functioning of two sovereign states as subjects of international law" and pledged to work out a new constitutional setup by 30 September. Klaus told journalists at the briefing that the number of members of the federal government will be reduced from 16 to 10 and the number of ministers from 12 to 5.

Croatia

TANJUG reports that Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo stated "no military pact exists" between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Skrabalo added that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali's report on the involvement of Croatian troops in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina is an "unfounded campaign."

Yugoslavia

Serbia—TANJUG reports that President Slobodan Milosevic accepted an invitation by the chairman of the Yugoslavia Peace Conference, Lord Carrington, to meet with the presidents of the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in France. Milosevic stated "as always, I will be glad of the opportunity of exchanging views with you in the interest of our joint efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis as soon as possible in a peaceful and just way."

Poland

According to Warsaw television, the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) party walked out of talks among parties that are hoping to form a new governing coalition. KPN Chairman Leszek Moczulski said his party had "decided that we are not able to form this coalition together," while his deputy, Krzysztof Krol, suggested that the pro-reform parties engaged in the coalition talks be replaced by the Solidarity Peasant Alliance and the Christian National Union. Citing "opinions in the Sejm lobbies," the GAZETA WYBORCZA daily's 22 June edition claimed that Prime Minister-designate Waldemar Pawlak was on the verge of resigning and that President Lech Walesa "intends to submit a new candidate for the post."

Hungary's Jeszenszky Addresses Forum on Europe

LD2106190592 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Crans-Montana, June 21 (MTI)—Irrespective of how the separation of the two parts of the country takes place in Czechoslovakia, Hungary wishes to uphold with them the relation that has come about in the past period in the framework of cooperation between the "Visegrad Three" (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said at an international forum held on the future of Europe in the Swiss resort of Crans- Montana.

The conference was attended by some 150 senior politicians and more than 250 economic experts. The Hungarian foreign minister delivered a paper on the country's foreign policy goals, at the special conference held about Hungary on Saturday [20 Jun] evening.

Jeszenszky stressed that, according to the Hungarian Government, the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia should be ensured the same generally accepted rights which are considered to common force in Europe, and which are included in, for instance, the agreement that was reached between Austria and Italy with respect to Southern Tirol.

The foreign minister also said one of the basic foreign policy goals of the Hungarian Government is to create good relations with all its neighbours. Within this, he specially mentioned the disintegration of Yugoslavia, which he said had given three new neighbours for Hungary.

The relation with Slovenia and Croatia is normal, even good. This is what the Hungarian Government would like to realize with Serbia as well, he said.

"Unfortunately, and in spite of our wish, Hungary has become, together with Austria, Italy and Germany, a target in a propaganda war. A propaganda campaign has been launched against us, trying to make us appear as the enemy. However, we hope that the UN sanctions will bring about a change in Belgrade," Jeszenszky said, referring to his lengthy meeting with the Serbian foreign minister this weekend. However, he did not go into details regarding the talks.

The foreign minister said Hungary continues to follow the situation of Hungarians in Vojvodina with great attention.

Foreign Minister Jeszenszky said the other major goal of Hungarian foreign policy was the wish of the Government to restore traditional relations with the Western democracies, and to involve the country in European cooperation, the international organizations, while striving to create good relations with its neighbours.

Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar, also speaking at the Crans-Montana forum, analyzed the country's economy. He noted that the change had to be launched in a way that no experiences or models were available. The Government wished to implement the economic reform in Hungary so that its consequences cause the smallest shock possible, without posing unbearable burdens on the population, and without it having a destabilizing political effect in society. Although implementation of the reforms undoubtedly implies serious burdens for many people, and the external circumstances further increased these burdens, Hungarian economy is on the way to overcoming the low-point, and a boom is expected for next year.

A special forum dealt with the minority issue at the Crans- Montana meeting on Saturday evening. At this forum, Foreign Minister Jeszenszky stressed that a solution that ensures the rights of the minorities, and also promotes the peaceful coexistence of neighbouring states, should be found in the minority issue. No one should have fears of discrimination, or of being endangered, because of minority affiliation.

Secretary of State Geza Entz said the solution is not to force the minorities to leave, to emigrate, and the demand to alter the borders can even less bring about a solution. An agreement between the majority and the minority should be found within the individual states, by far-reachingly respecting the minority rights.

The Hungarian ministers also held a press conference, at which they answered several questions related to Hungarian-Romanian relations.

Foreign Minister Jeszenszky said the Romanian Government had, after lengthy delays, taken the stand that it would not consent to re-opening the Hungarian consulate in Kolozsvar (Cluj). This is all the more regrettable as the consulate would handle not only matters related to the protection of citizens, but could also promote the development of economic relations, which have shown a considerable decline.

In this context, Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar said the share of Romania in Hungarian foreign trade has dropped from the former, some 10 per cent to less than one per cent. Both sides consider this to be an untenable situation, and the two specialized ministers have already agreed to immediately begin the preparation of measures aimed at developing trade, and the conclusion of new agreements.

Berisha Returns Home, Summarizes U.S. Visit

AU2106175692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by Zamira Koleci and unidentified reporters in Tirana on 20 June]

[Text] [Koleci] Sali Berisha, president of the Republic of Albania, returned home this afternoon after a visit to the United States and Switzerland. Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the People's Assembly Presidency, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, other government members, and deputies were at Rinas Airport to welcome him. Representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Albania and Christopher Hill, representative of the U.S. Embassy in Tirana, were also present.

Answering the questions of reporters of official press organs on the results of his visit, Mr. Berisha said:

[Begin Berisha recording] I can say that it was a very fruitful and successful visit and its objectives were completely fulfilled. I was first received by President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, and Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs, in a meeting at the White House. I had a friendly, open, and warm talk with them for 45 minutes. We extensively discussed problems concerning Albania at present and our determination to set up democratic institutions, proceed with the reform, and build a market economy. We discussed the crisis in the region and the great threat that it represents for the Albanian nation in general, Albanians wherever they live, and the whole region of the Balkans. What encouraged me most was the full readiness and sure determination to help Albania during this transitional period that I found there, especially from President George Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and National Security Adviser Scowcroft. I found them ready and dedicated to solving the crisis in the region. I can say that the results of this visit, especially at the White House, the U.S. Congress, and the U.S. State Department, are the ones that you have made known to the people.

First, President Bush informed me that he had signed that day the decree granting Albania most favored nation status. He told me with a smile that he did not think that the U.S. Congress would have any objections against Albania, because Albania is very determined and has strong support everywhere in the U.S. state and legislative administration. I can say that signing this agreement is really a historic act. We should not forget that with the policy of self-isolation that it followed for so many years, Albania was subject to very restrictive and just measures by the U.S. Administration. It is sufficient to remind you that the amendment [word indistinct] alone was abolished only some weeks ago, i.e. after the victory of the democratic forces. Thus, this is a very quick conversion to the status of Most Favored Nation. This indicates that great respect and special treatment for Albania are shown at a political level. At the economic level, this agreement opens very great prospects for economic relations between Albania and the United States and the opportunity for financial credits, exports, and exchange of goods between both countries. Moreover, President Bush and the U.S. Administration increased financial aid for Albania from the $35 million that was announced to more than $60 million and also several valuable products, such as cotton in order to resume work at the textile industry.

Third, I found full readiness on the part of the U.S. Administration to help Albania with inexpensive food aid in order to successfully overcome the difficulties of next year, which will be a year of serious difficulties as a result of last year's poor harvest.

Fourth, President Bush and Treasury Secretary Brady assured me that they will help Albania, including through international institutions. The meeting of the Group of 24 to be held in Albania will be a successful meeting. Moreover, I found a dedication and a great concern to solve the crisis in the region and this is very important, as I previously said. I presented our views that Albania is trying to be a factor of stability in the very agitated Balkans, but at the same time I maintained the view that this is insufficient to guarantee peace. We should make clear to [Serbian President] Milosevic that he can no longer violate these principles, which should be sacred for every state and individual. Despite the grave consequences for the Albanian economy, the pressure of the embargo is a measure that we welcome. Their expulsion from other international institutions is another necessary measure, and in case these measures do not yield results, the example of Kuwait was in the long run a great example.

I told President Bush that you lost many lives here and suffered great material damage, but you have had blessings from all of mankind, you have had the blessing of every man and every democratic state, because you showed the dictator that he might in fact trample several basic principles, but someone else had to defend them at every cost. You defended them with great determination.

On the second day of my stay in Washington I had many meetings at the U.S. Congress and Senate. I was received by Senator Claiborne Pell and Congressman Lee Hamilton at the Foreign Affairs Commission of the U.S. Congress and Senate. All of them are known for their affectionate feelings for Albania. I found them very concerned to find ways and possibilities to help Albania, but at the same time to solve the crisis in Yugoslavia. In these and other meetings I held at the U.S. Information Agency, with the general director of the Voice of America, at the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, and everywhere, I found a confident readiness to assist Albania in building a market economy.

[Koleci] Mr. President, you met businessmen, bankers, and press representatives in the United States. What were the results of these meetings?

[Berisha] In my meetings with businessmen and bankers, I insisted that investors should come and invest in Albania. Of course, I promised them that Albania will adopt legislation that will attract foreign investors. Their property will be guaranteed. On the other hand, I stressed the fact that Albania is not a desert, but is a country rich in great natural resources. Albania has a working force that is perhaps not that qualified, but in fact Albanians are strong people and they have begun to work. They have worked too much in the past, but their work was spent in vain. Whereas today, we are trying to create opportunities for them in a free labor market and see what its effects are. After meeting all the business circles I did, I am confident that there is now a special interest to come and invest in Albania. Of course, they are waiting for the legislation, because if the relevant legislation is not established, none of the businessmen will be willing to lose their money. As soon as the legislation is approved, I am confident that the businessmen will come and invest in Albania.

I had very important meetings with the IMF and World Bank. I consider them extremely important meetings. I discussed at length with Mr. Camgessus, who was greatly interested in the reform in Albania. He was very concerned about it and expressed his desire and that of the IMF to help Albania. The IMF will follow and supervise the development of this reform and do its utmost to sign the agreement as soon as possible. I found understanding even about some problems that we discussed and that were related to the reform. They were specific problems encountered in Albania more than in other Eastern countries. Thus I fully agreed that Albania and the IMF should continue their joint cooperation toward building the market economy.

I discussed these problems with my friend Kemal Dervish [World Bank general director for Central Europe] nearly all day 21 June. The World Bank is totally committed to many projects on Albania. I paid special attention to those projects that created the opportunity of new jobs for the people, developing first agriculture and transport, but of course also projects to help the poor. The state should work so that Albanian families do not lack basic things, and I found understanding on this point. The World Bank is trying to find funds through which to open up employment for the most affected groups, so that they can have the possibility of a more or less normal life.

[Unidentified reporter] Another question, Mr. President. The opinion of Albanian nationals living in the diaspora is favored too much. What is the special effect of this on the national and economic level?

[Berisha] I should say first that the meeting with Albanians of the diaspora was extremely impressive for me. I was very happy, not because so many of them had gathered, but because I found them all together. This was what made me rejoice the most, because in this case they showed their political culture. When I say together, I do not mean that the people should change their political convictions, but in the case of Albania, for principles of democracy in Albania, for reform in Albania, for the Albanian flag, we should all unite. And I really found Albanians there all united as never before during all these 50 years of residence in the United States.

I announced that we will grant them dual nationality. Of course, we will grant dual nationality to them. Dual nationality is a moral statement of ours, because we cannot deny our brothers. This is also a unifying factor for them to consider Albania the same as we do. They are also responsible for the development of Albania, its progress, and its integration into the civilized and modern world.

[Unidentified reporter] Did they express this?

[Berisha] They completely expressed this. I met distinguished figures, Zio Gardi, Sami Repishti, Sejdi Bytyci, Ekrem Bardhi, Hysni Zini, and so many other Albanians who are well known in the United States. I am confident that they will make their contribution. And they have made their contribution. I can say that wherever I went, I found a special honor for the Albanian diaspora.

[Koleci] Can you tell us something about the meetings you held at the United Nations?

[Berisha] I spent one day at the United Nations in New York. I was received by the UN secretary general, Mr. Butrus Butrus Ghali, and had a talk with him. I also met the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] director, Mr. Draper, the UNICEF director, and the UNFPA [United Nations Population Fund] director, Mrs. Nafiz Sadik. In all these meetings, especially in the meeting with Mr. Ghali, I discussed the new developments in Albania and Albania's need for the UN and its sub-organizations to help its transition into the market economy and building a democratic society. I discussed with Mr. Ghali the crisis in Kosovo at length. As mentioned previously, I stressed that a condition for solving this crisis is the inclusion of Ibrahim Rugova at the table for talks and preventing the conflict in Kosovo, because a conflict in Kosovo may unwillingly involve Albania and Macedonia in a war, and the man who is keeping alive war flames in Bosnia may seek and desire a Balkan war. I can say that Mr. Ghali was also concerned. He stressed that the political solution belongs to the EC. The UN peacekeeping forces are not peacegiving forces, but their mission is to preserve the ceasefire in the areas where they are located. As regards Kosovo, he said that the UN intends to send a humanitarian mission to observe the situation in Kosovo, but he was very worried about the complexity of the crisis.

I had a special meeting with UNDP Director Draper, who loves Albania very much. He expressed his full readiness for all-around help, either of a technical nature or for special projects on Albania.

I also met the UNICEF director and asked him to help Albanian children. We discussed the adoption of Albanian children. I told him that the Albanian Government

has set up a commission and asks the UN's help to fully investigate this problem. He expressed his readiness to help.

I also met Mrs. Hafiz Sadik, who deals with family problems. I can say that the meetings were very fruitful and I found a very favorable climate for Albania.

I think that this visit is not only a political success. The fact that President Bush and the U.S. Government are committed to increasing aid, signing the agreement on Most Favored Nation status, and helping Albania with humanitarian aid and technical assistance marks a safe step in the all around Albanian-U.S. relations. Moreover, I rejoiced over the fact that President George Bush accepted my invitation to visit Albania at a favorable time for him. UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali and many other personalities whom I met during my stay in the United States also accepted the invitation to visit Albania.

[Koleci] The last question, Mr. President. You concluded your meetings in Switzerland. What results did you achieve in these meetings in this European state?

[Berisha] In Switzerland, I participated in a conference, an international economic forum in which dozens of countries took part. A special session was devoted to Albania and its economic and political developments. The general opinion was that yesterday's session was a complete success. Moreover, I met Mr. Delamuraz, minister of economy, who performs the functions of president and foreign minister of the Swiss Confederation, yesterday. I found in him a special affection for Albania. Mr. Delamuraz told me that Albania is for them a symbol. Our victory has been inspiring for all of them, and they will commit themselves to helping Albania. Among the requests I presented to him were for economic cooperation between Switzerland and Albania, technical and humanitarian aid from Switzerland for Albania, and a request for Switzerland to accept seasonal workers from Albania in agriculture, construction, and any other field.

Concerning the first two requests, I got full guarantees. As for the other one for seasonal workers, Mr. Delamuraz said that this is a reasonable request and they will try to fulfill this request from Albania. Of course, there is a separate procedure for this. I can say that he agreed that his government should put a priority on considering this Albanian request. The Swiss television and press have reflected our delegation's presence there and the problems we treated.

I want to avail myself of the occasion to once again thank President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, the Assistant for National Security Affairs Scowcroft, Secretary of the Treasury Brady, Secretary of Agriculture Madigan, Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Trade [title as heard] Eagleburger, and all those important personalities I met in Washington. I want to thank Camgessus, Butrus Ghali, Draper, Delamuraz, and the organizer of the international forum, Jean Paul Carteau, for their hospitality during my visit this week.

Berisha Calls for Balkans Regional Cooperation

LD1906162592 Budapest MTI in English 1437 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Crans-Montana, June 19 (MTI)—Albanian President Sali Berisha said it was necessary to create economic and political regional cooperation on the Balkans and set up a free trade area extending from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.

Speaking to MTI's correspondent, Berisha said 'The sole obstacle still in the way of such plans is Europe's last dictatorial regime, that of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's'.

Berisha said he hoped that the UN embargo would attain its goal, while at the same time adding that it came belatedly and even firmer measures would be necessary for breaking the dictatorship's resistance.

'Once Serbia has become a democratic country, there can be no impediment to bringing about cooperation on the Balkans,' the Albanian president stated.

Berisha is attending an international conference in Crans-Montana, Switzerland, dealing with questions of European construction. He was seeking the support of European states mainly for consolidating his country's economy.

Berisha told MTI's correspondent, 'The national minorities of Kosovo and Vojvodina have been deprived of their rights, which must be granted to them according to the European norms.

'Both the Albanians of Kosovo and the Hungarians of Vojvodina must be guaranteed the right to self-determination. In this respect, no comparison can be drawn with the Serbs of Krajina, because they enjoyed no special minority rights under the previous Yugoslav Constitution.'

Concerning Albania's economic standing, Berisha said that in agreement with the International Monetary Fund, they worked out an economic reform programme which they will immediately start implementing. However, it will take many years for a smoothly functioning market economy to come about in Albania, he added.

In the transition period, the country will need major international support and and a large amount of investments to be able to gain the upper hand over the extremely severe economic problems, Berisha said.

Government Hails Black Sea Cooperation Statement

AU1906212992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Statement by Albanian Government issued in Tirana on 18 June]

[Text] Wishing to contribute to strengthening relations with countries in the Black Sea region, the Government of the Republic of Albania hails the high-level summit of the countries that compiled the Statement on Black Sea Economic Cooperation to be held in Istanbul on 25 July and declares that it is ready to participate in the summit as a member country with full rights.

Considering the cooperation in this region and around it as very useful, the Government of Albania expresses its approval for all the dispositions of this initiative. The Government of the Republic of Albania is confident that this initiative will serve to expand relations among member countries and further strengthen peace, stability, and cooperation in the region.

Minister of Defense To Halve Defense Expenditure

AU2106161192 Tirana ATA in English 0954 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 21 (ATA)—The Albanian Army is aware of the indispensability of the reform, the minister of defence, Mr. Safet Zhulali stated to the ATA reporter. "The reform is profound, it aims to create a qualitative army, hence it is wrong to think that it is simply a reduction of the number of the militarymen. Many things have radically changed. We should start with the military doctrine, strategy and finding out of the threats to our country. These will determine also the necessary number of the Armed Forces," the minister said.

He valued the depoliticization of the Army as one of the main aspects of the reform and this cannot be considered as finished only with the nonparticipation of the militarymen in political parties. He described the militarymen as people with wrong mentalities dictated by the communist dictatorship. Depoliticization of the Army cannot be over within a short period of time, Mr. Zhulali said. The concepts for the military science, the military art should change. When this is reached, along with other measures of the reforms and the status of the militaryman, we may say that the Army is depoliticized.

Asked by the ATA reporter for the steps taken so far, the reform will be carried out through years. The first step is to reconstruct the structures and renovate direction in the Army.

The second step of the reform to be realised within days is the application of the decision of the government for the release of the militarymen over 50 years.

As the third step of the reform he described defining of the new structure of the Army, its great concentration in garrisons and a relatively small Army in number. Within a year, the minister states, expenditures on defence will reduce nearly two fold and the reform in general will create facilitations for the economy.

Military Delegation Leaves for Bulgaria

AU2006154692 Tirana ATA in English 1807 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 19 (ATA)—A military delegation headed by the deputy minister of defence, Mr. Fatmir Mema left on a working visit to the Republic of Bulgaria on June 19.

The visit of our military delegation to Bulgaria will serve the further strengthening of the relations, cooperation, and the strengthening of friendship between the two peoples and armies, the exchange of experience in the field of industry and logistics.

Meksi Receives Council of Europe Officials

AU1906162692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Chairman of the Council of Ministers Aleksander Meksi received this morning the delegation of senior officials from the Secretariat of the Council of Europe [COE] including Hans Peter Fuhrer, director for political affairs; Jean Louis Lawrence, counselor for pan-European problems; and Krieg Harremos, director for juridical affairs.

Meksi acquainted the group with the economic and social situation, the government's efforts to apply economic reform, and efforts to ensure economic and financial support from Europe and other democratic countries. He stressed the importance that our country pays to European aid and assessed the contribution of the COE and that of missions of high-level COE Secretariat officials in strengthening relations with our country and compiling and applying aid programs for Albania, especially in the constitutional, legislative, and administrative areas, but also in health, education, and culture. Meksi asked the COE representatives to grant our country financial aid to be used for housing within a social development fund.

On their part, the COE officials stressed the readiness of their institution to help the new democratic institutions in judicial reform, creation of connections [lidhje] on the basis of European standards, emigration, health, education, culture, youth, sports, etc. They especially asked about the situation of former political prisoners and the aid given to them.

During the meeting they discussed international problems, particularly developments in the former Yugoslavia.

Nano Reelected Socialist Party Chairman

AU2106181992 Tirana Radio Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Editorial Report] Tirana radio carries a total of one minute of reports on the Socialist Party First Congress in Tirana as the seventh and 13th items in its regular newscast.

The announcer states: "Our reporter Sokol Terihati reports that the Socialist Party's Congress resumed its proceedings this morning with more delegates' speeches. Various problems were discussed such as the party's internal organization, the place the party should assume in the country's political spectrum, tasks in the local election campaign, etc. The speeches came to an end, and delegates later began to elect the party chairman, the Managing Committee, and the National Council."

After other news items, the announcer states:

"Our reporter Sokol Terihati reports that the proceedings of the Socialist Party's First Congress have ended. At the final session, delegates voted for the party's chairman and Managing Committee. A total of 595 delegates took part in the voting. Fatos Nano was elected party chairman with 22 dissenting votes. A 95-member Managing Committee was also elected. This committee will elect other party leaders at its first meeting."

Foreign Ministry Denounces BSP Statement

AU2106170992 Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 21 Jun 92

["Foreign Ministry's Spokeswoman Accuses BSP Leaders of Anti-National Behavior"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 21 (BTA)—The incorrect and, in the last reckoning, anti-national behavior of some Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] leaders with regard to this country's foreign policy arouses serious concern, it is said in a declaration of Ms. Veneta Momcheva, spokeswoman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, received at BTA.

The declaration is issued in reply to the statement which Mr. Nikolay Kamov, MP for the BSP and member of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, made last night in the Panorama Weekly Review of Bulgarian Television. He expressed the concern of the opposition BSP and of its parliamentary faction saying that of late the Bulgarian public has been mislead to believe that the approachment of the Yugoslav armed conflict to Bulgaria's western border poses no danger to it.

Last week the BSP told a press conference about its proposal, which Mr. Kamov repeated on television last night, that Bulgaria should immediately declare it stands for the peaceful settlement of the conflict and that should the developments in Yugoslavia make it necessary for the international forces to intervene, Bulgaria must declare that it will not take part in such actions either directly or indirectly.

As it became clear from last night's televised statement of the socialist MP, who is also a member of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee, attempts are being made to discredit Bulgaria's prudent, balanced and realistic position in the Balkans, the spokeswoman points out. Destructive energy is used to act against the confidence and friendship which Bulgarian diplomacy has managed to assert in the country's relations with its neighbours in the region for the first time in years, the declaration says. For this purpose fabricated statements are being attributed to the foreign minister ignoring scandalously the official stands and the actual steps taken by the Foreign Ministry to promote peace, security and goodneighbourliness in the Balkans.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares once again that its policy pursued in the Balkans is perfectly in line with the European standards and that it is free from any historical revanchism. Bulgaria maintains equally intensive relations with all its neighbors and seeks the assertion of security and confidence in the region, including through its efforts to promote the Helsinki process in southeastern Europe which have already won international recognition.

The approach of Bulgarian diplomacy to the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is a clear and principled one. The confirmation that Bulgaria has no territorial designs and ambitions, expressly stated in the declaration of January 15, 1992 issued in connection with the recognition of the Republics which had declared their independence, is seen by the international public as a stabilizing factor for relations in the Balkans. At all international forums Bulgaria actively supports the efforts of the United Nations, of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of the European Community and of the Western European Union aimed at the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and the localization of the conflict. The proposal for the deployment of UN or EC observers along the country's western border was made within this context. The stand taken by the Bulgarian foreign minister is unambiguous: The implementation of any peace-making measures must be based on consensus in the CSCE.

Certain BSP leaders should bear their responsibility for twisting the truth about the actual position of the Bulgarian Government not only before their own party, but before all the society. Because at the present dramatic moment for the Balkans the attacks against the national foreign policy are recklessly targeted at the country's national security, it is underlined in the declaration.

Import of Electric Power From Serbia Stopped

AU2006144792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] The Bulgarian Government has sent a note to the committee on monitoring the implementation of UN Resolution 724 with an opinion on the issue whether receiving prepaid electric power from Serbia by the Bulgarian electric power system represents a violation of the sanctions.

The request for the opinion was prompted by the import of electric power from Serbia on 17 June by the Control Center of the National Electric Power Company. The import has been immediately stopped, Lyulin Radulov, chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, said.

On 26 June, the Council of Ministers will discuss the behavior of responsible officials of the National Electric Power Company.

Podkrepa Trade Union Organizes Dockers Strike

AU2206100492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] A strike began this morning at Varna-East and Varna-West Ports. About 80 dockers of the first shift did not come to work, but in fact the number of striking workers is 10 times larger. A part of the mechanical equipment operators have joined the strike. The strike is organized by the Podkrepa National Trade Union, which has put forward a categorical demand: that the trade union be admitted to the National Council on Social Partnership.

Our reporter Georgi Sveshtnikov reports that a significant part of the personnel in the Varna ports do not intend to support the strikers and do not approve their

actions. However, they cannot begin work, because they depend on the striking dockers.

We shall have more information after the news conference that Plamen Darakchiev, president of the Podkrepa National Trade Union, will give in Varna this afternoon.

The dockers and mechanical equipment operators in Burgas Port did not join the strike, the chairmen of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation at Burgas Port told our reporter. In a statement addressed to the central mass media, they protest against the unjustified tension that has been created, something that could interrupt the work of our largest port. The Burgas oil refineries workers are reported to be ready to strike. Members of the Podkrepa Sailors Trade Union said that they are also ready to strike if the Podkrepa National Trade Union is not allowed to participate in resolving the social problems.

Bomb Scare Reported at Todorov Sentencing

AU1906195992 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 19 Jun 92

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 19 (BTA)—Bulgaria's relations with its neighbours are good in all cases when possible under the principles of international law and the country's international commitments, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov told parliament today in reply to a question about Bulgaria's relations with its neighbours. According to the prime minister, Bulgaria develops its relations with the separate countries at a different pace. They are especially intensively advanced with Greece and Turkey because these are the countries Bulgaria has been traditionally turned against and now the lagging behind should be made up for, Mr. Filip Dimitrov said. He pointed out the features that characterize Bulgaria's foreign policy in the Balkans - the lack of any designs on its neighbours, desire for cooperation and the promotion of friendly relations and readiness to help the dialogue along. [passage omitted]

At 11:20 hrs today, only ten minutes before pronouncing the sentence against the former Bulgarian intelligence service chief, General Vladimir Todorov, the head of the Supreme Court's Military Division, Colonel Nikolay Chiripov, received an anonymous telephone call warning him that an explosive had been placed in the court room. Colonel Chiripov brought the trial to the end on his own responsibility, without informing the Military Court Tribunal, the defence, the police, journalists and all attenders about the threat. After the sitting the same person called again and asked laughing: "Did the bomb go off?"

In an open letter to the two factions in the Holy Synod, Sofia's Mayor Prof. Aleksandur Yanchulev offered them one of City Hall's rooms as a neutral place for holding negotiations. It is inadmissible for the court to settle the differences in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, it is said in the letter.

The procedure on the admittance of the Podkrepa National Trade Union (which split from the Podkrepa Labor Confederation) to the National Council for Social Partnership will be opened immediately when the trade union adopts a name that would not duplicate the one used by any of the trade unions who are members of the council, it is said in the letter of Mr. Nikola Vasilev, minister of health and deputy prime minister in charge of relations with the trade unions, sent today to Mr. Plamen Darukchiev, leader of the Podkrepa National Trade Union.

Dimitrov Ready To Help in Church Conflict

AU2006191592 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 20 Jun 92

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 20 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitrov believes that his interference in the affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is inadmissible but is ready to render assistance in any form to prevent the schism at the Bulgarian Church and all dangerous consequences it would entail. A dialogue is necessary to restore peace at the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and renew it, a source close to the cabinet said. [passage omitted]

The message "Be It Peace on the Earth, Be It Peace in Bulgaria" was the message that rang in front of the flags of 186 countries in Sofia today. Bulgaria is the 51st country in which the Peace Prayer Ceremony was held. It is organized by the New-York-based World Peace Army, the Ministry of Culture, the Agricultural Credit Bank and the Appeal Foundation. The purpose of the initiative, launched for the first time in Japan 25 years ago, is to arouse human consciousness for peace.

Representatives of 238 business associations gathered for a national meeting in the Black Sea town of Burgas. The idea is to unite the societies on a nationwide scale. The goal of the new formation will be to assist the Bulgarian Business Bloc at the next general elections. A statute of the business associations was adopted and a national leadership was elected. Mr. George Ganchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Business Bloc, was elected chairman of the Business Union. Mr. Ganchev came off third in the presidential race in January this year polling nearly 17 percent of the vote.

"With its ruling the Constitutional Court actually affirmed the constitution, the legitimacy, the supremacy of the constitution and restored people's confidence that this country is committed to the rule of law, that there is order in it and that the constitution is respected," President Zhelyu Zhelev said today in a televised interview for the Panorama Political Review of Bulgarian Television. Dr. Zhelev made this statement commenting on the ruling the Constitutional Court issued last week in

reply to the president's request to interpret some clauses of the constitution in connection with the disputes at the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. It is pointed out in the Constitutional Court's ruling that the religious communities in Bulgaria are separated from the state and any state intervention or attempts at state administration of the religious communities and institutions' intraorganizational life are impermissible.

Low Level of Army Combat Readiness Alleged

AU1906134892 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 10 Jun p 1

[Neyka Krusteva article; "Does Mr. Minister Know?..."]

[Text] The pot is boiling over in our Western neighbor's house? There is constant fighting, cities and villages are being burned down, people are being killed. Our neighbors are engulfed by a cruel and bloody war, which is so close to us. However, the Bulgarian people can sleep peacefully. In a brief television interview the new defense minister, Mr. Staliyski, categorically stated: "Nothing to be worried about!" Among other things, the minister also mentioned in passing that "an empty stomach is a poor border guard," but this is just a technical detail. "The Serbs will not attack us. No, that is out of question," Mr. Staliyski firmly stated. God granted, we whispered. The minister certainly knows what he is talking about. So, we slept peacefully.

Well, we know that no one plans to attack Switzerland. Its citizens and we ourselves know that the defense industry of that European state in highly developed. What about our defense?

Does the minister know that our Army contains combat units that have not practised a combat alert for more than a year? Who knows whether those units will be able to react if a real situation requires this. For instance, I mean the situation with the tanks' fuel heaters.

What is the situation with our anti-aircraft defense? Is it true that, if at the time of the Balkan War there was one horde for every three soldiers, today there is two to three modern combat aircraft for every Air Force crew?

Does Mr. Staliyski know that Bulgaria is apparently the only country in the world without military counterintelligence? Why is it that in the last two years foreign intelligence services activated their agents in Bulgaria and even tried to obtain one of the few remaining secrets in our Army—the mobilization plans? A similar case has been revealed recently.

Does the minister know that the number of young officers who have established unauthorized contact with foreign intelligence services and offered themselves for recruitment is growing alarmingly?

Does Minister Staliyski know about the frequent bold and dangerous attempts to steal combat equipment and weapons?

We have already addressed those questions to Mr. Staliyski's predecessors, former Defense Ministers Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev and Dimitur Ludzhev. Alas, we received no reply, as we should have. We are no longer amazed by brutal incompetence. We are alarmed, especially against the background of an army whose immune system has been destroyed, and a nation—the Bulgarian—that has been unilaterally disarmed.

You have already understood that Minister Staliyski knows absolutely everything about the Yugoslav Army, and is sure that it will not attack us.

It would be good to hear something about our troops' combat readiness. Then the "nothing to worry about!" statement would sound more convincing.

Democratic Party Seen Striving for Power in SDS

AU1906123092 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Jun 92 p 4

[Nora Dimova commentary: "Beloved Coalition Bursts at Seams"]

[Text] Already during the period of the so-called government crisis, a preliminary sounding linked Stefan Savov's name with the post of prime minister, while Georgi Markov proposed himself as deputy prime minister. The common denominator of those two persons (in addition to the fact that they did not become leaders of the cabinet), is their membership in the Democratic Party.

On the anniversary of the heroic act of the G-39 group [members of the Grand National Assembly who walked out during the debate on the new constitution] and the super blue [Union of Democratic Forces] "Red Poppy" rally in front of the Dimitrov Mausoleum, which looked to many to be the beginning of an election campaign, the Democratic Party appears to want to be identified with the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], sources close to Rakovski Street 134 [SDS headquarters] think. They need this identification in order to win, figuratively, the blue color in future elections.

Reportedly, Georgi Markov did not want Filip Dimitrov to be SDS leader while still serving as prime minister. In addition, it turned out that Georgi Markov also did not want Filip Dimitrov to be prime minister, because he was not sufficiently aggressive.

However, apparently not all members of the blue coalition are inclined to relinquish all power to the Democratic Party without a struggle. Whether incidentally or not, the scandal about personal files also emerged during the aforementioned events. It was precisely Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, who questioned the relevance of opening the files, and consequently, he was immediately reproached by the SDS Central Coordinating Council in a special decision.

Well informed people claim that the Democratic Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] will be the most vulnerable factors from the State Security point of view, if the files of high-ranking politicians and deputies are opened. Simultaneously, it appears that there also were quarrels in the DPS and not everything is as peaceful and quiet as it seems.

A coalition between the Democratic Party and a part of the DPS on the files issue, deliberately or involuntarily supported by a part of the opposition, could produce unforeseeable consequences for the balance of power within the National Assembly, and hence, for the entire government system. God save Bulgaria if the files could destroy the parliament, Aleksandur Yordanov exclaimed. This, of course, did not prevent him from agreeing the next day that social laws were nevertheless more important than the files.

For the time being it appears that the noisy collapse of the coalition has been delayed, but this, apparently, will not last much longer.

Savov Denies Party Seeks To Leave SDS

AU1906130392 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jun 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Stefan Savov, chairman of the Democratic Party and National Assembly chairman, by Emiliya Antova; place and date not given: "KGB Agents Are Scared"]

[Text] [Antova] Mr. Savov, the opposition has recently started talking about the Democratic Party that you lead having some kind of priority and advantages over the other parties in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

[Savov] There can be no question of any priority, because we have always been a loyal and correct partner within the SDS. The Democratic Party has none of its own people in the SDS leadership, nor, may I say, in the DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper and the publishing syndicate. We have no claims to a leading role in the SDS, so I find this campaign that they have started against us rather strange. What is bad about it is that certain people in the SDS have joined it, perhaps involuntarily. However, it seems to me that they have been inspired by our opponents, who have always sought ways to stir confrontation between parties and personalities within the SDS! I would add that the fact that we enjoy a measure of authority among our supporters is due to the fact that the politicians of our party have always been honorable and frank with their electors.

[Antova] Evil tongues have started saying that the Democratic Party is thinking of leaving the SDS.

[Savov] Such an idea has never entered our minds even for a minute. We are convinced that the SDS must continue to exist as a coalition for a considerable time yet.

[Antova] How will you answer the insinuation that a considerable number of dirty files concerning leaders of the Democratic Party are expected to be published?

[Savov] If I personally had such a file, it would have been brought into the open during the time of the Grand National Assembly. Here two problems are mixed up together. I have nothing in principle against the appearance of the files, but you will appreciate that we cannot stop the progress of the pensions bill or the taxation legislation that has already been prepared in order to publicly wash the dirty linen of some small-time informers. Every passing day is of immense importance for changing the system by legislative means. I agree, it is good to know who is who among us, but it is not correct for this to be done through some Tambuev-type commission, it should be achieved through a parliamentary bill. In my opinion, the real agents who are embedded in the SDS (I mean the State Security and KGB agents) will not be unmasked. At the conference that I attended in Budapest everybody agreed that the so-called special services still exist as motive forces—in the bad sense of the term. Moreover, I am convinced that these people, living in our midst, are the very ones that have no dirty files! The entire inflated campaign is motivated by the desire of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] (Communist) to sow dissension, distrust, or enmity among the SDS parties and National Assembly deputies.

[Antova] Evidently this is a special political tactic because, as far as I understand from you, a proposal for a vote of no- confidence in the government has also been submitted—which means another two or three days of parliamentary work wasted.

[Savov] Yes, the Fatherland Party of Labor, supported by the BSP (Communist) has submitted such a motion. It will indeed be a waste of time, because the proposers cannot collect 121 votes in support of their motion at the plenary session of parliament. This is yet another attempt to cause scandals and unnecessary tension!

Meciar, Klaus Announce Agreement To Split State

LD2006015392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2333 GMT 19 Jun 92

[News conference with Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party, ODS, and Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Party, HZDS, and unidentified reporters in Bratislava; moderated by Bohumil Geci, press secretary for Vladimir Meciar—live]

[Text] [Reporter] Esteemed listeners, they are now coming in the courtyard, on the balcony—Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar. And a news conference has begun.

[Reporter, in Czech] They are followed by Miroslav Macek, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. Deputy Chairman Jozef Zielenec, Jiri Kovac, and Petr Cermak are in the background.

[Reporter] The news conference is moderated by Bohumil Geci, Vladimir Meciar's press spokesman. Let us listen now to Vladimir Meciar.

[Meciar] Let me announce with joy that we have reached an agreement.

The principal documents—i.e., the political agreement as well as the principles of the program statement of the government of the Czech and Slovak Republic—were signed by the two sides and they consider them to be binding.

Talks began yesterday on a happy note when we congratulated our guest and ODS chairman on the occasion of his birthday, which he spent intensively working.

Allow me to read the political agreement.

The leaderships of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] are aware of the great historic responsibility in the situation that has arisen following the 1992 elections in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic and intend to solve it jointly in a constitutional way.

Second, with the aim of securing the continuity of all constitutional bodies of the federation and all processes begun after November 1989, they have agreed on the formation of a federal government and its policy statement, which is a part of this agreement.

Third, they state the differences between their election programs and political aims in the sphere of constitutional set up, since the ODS considers a federation as one subject of international law to be the only reasonable and workable form of a common state suitable for the present Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, whereas the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia considers a confederation of two republics as two subjects of international law to be a form of a common state. The Civic Democratic Party does not consider a confederation of two republics as two subjects of international law to be a common state, but a union of two independent states. Rather than a confederation, the ODS prefers two fully independent states; that is, the constitutional breakup of the present state.

Fourth, in this situation they regard as their joint duty, with the help of all legal means, to initiate a process that will lead to an agreement between the [Czech and Slovak] National Councils on the solution to the constitutional setup by 30 September 1992. If two states as subjects of international law are created, then in the interest of good, friendly, and neighborly relations and mutual cooperation the ODS and HZDS consider it appropriate to search for forms of coexistence between the two states and for frameworks of cooperation that would correspond to their traditions as well as current and future needs.

Sixth [no fifth point as heard], they will propose that in case of the dissolution of the federation, the National Councils should adopt laws under which Federal Assembly deputies will be incorporated into the legislative bodies of the republics.

Seventh, the principles of the federal government policy statement are binding on both subjects. On this basis both sides will inform each other on a regular basis and advise each other at the Federal Assembly level, and the chairmen and leadership of the two parties will hold regular meetings depending on how the situation develops.

Eighth, this agreement does not affect the relationship of the ODS and HZDS toward other political parties.

Ninth, the ODS and HZDS pledge to conclude an agreement on other central bodies of the state administration by 31 July 1992.

Signed by ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, in Bratislava on 20 June 1992.

[Geci] Chairman Vaclav Klaus is now going to inform you about the content of the second document.

[Klaus, in Czech] I am going to read to you a part—as it is a longer text—of the draft of the principles of the program statement by the CSFR Government that we have agreed upon today. We announce that this draft of principles is really just an attempt to spell out the highest common denominator of what we have managed to agree upon, what we were capable of agreeing upon here today. I am going to read the preamble and I am going to characterize for you in about one sentence each of the individual parts of this document.

The preamble: The fundamental task of the federal government is to secure our state's proper functioning in the post-election period and contribute toward completing the process of solving the CSFR's constitutional setup. This is why the federal government understands its mandate as being limited by time [casove podmineny].

This is why the federal government's program statement concentrates only on a selected group of questions that the government considers to be decisive at present.

The federal government declares the inevitability of securing the continuity of the activities of federal bodies and the processes embarked upon after November 1989, and it wishes above all to continue the reforms embarked upon. It intends to enable a further shift of decision-making powers to our citizens and prepare—providing it is authorized to do so—the conditions for a smooth functioning of two sovereign states as subjects of international law.

The federal government must not fail to admit the delicate situation it finds itself in, and thus it must not embark on any steps that would in some way fundamentally change the present state until the time comes when a decision is made on the CSFR's future.

And now very briefly: The legislative sphere forms the first part of the draft program statement. The government is going to secure the continuity of the legal order and create conditions for the further development of a democratic system and for observing the Document on Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms.

In the sphere of foreign policy—I remind you that I am in fact just reading one or two sentences about each individual point—in the sphere of foreign policy in the period before the constitutional setup is resolved, the federal government is going to secure a unified external representation of the state and is going to respect all international obligations of the CSFR—both bilateral and multilateral.

I do not know how to summarize in a simple way the sphere of security and defense: the government attaches great importance to our citizens' security, and, if you are going to ask for more details, this is why it will intensify measures concerning the Constitution, internal public order, and suppressing crime.

In the sphere of economic policy, we stress that the priority of the government economic policy is going to be—in the context of the concluded first phase of the transformation process—besides the policy of stabilization, the shifting of the emphasis on the policy of economic growth. This includes clear formulations about budget policy, monetary policy.

In the sphere of privatization, we stress that privatization continues to be the government's fundamental priority as the main method of pushing through changes. That is why the main tasks in this sphere are going to be the completion and assessment of the first phase of major privatization and preparing the second phase of major privatization.

Finally, the last point—and I am going to conclude with this—is the structure of the federal government. In the immediate upcoming period, the CSFR Government is going to secure the implementation of all existing powers and will propose a significant streamlining of central bodies of the state administration and shift the powers agreed upon to the republics' bodies. These changes will lead to reducing the number of members of the federal government from 16 to 10, the number of federal ministries from 12 to 5, and will significantly reduce the number of state administration employees. The ministries to stay are the Ministries of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Defense, Interior, and Economy.

This is a brief reading of the draft principles of the program statement that we agreed upon and signed today.

[Geci] Ladies and gentlemen, questions and answers will follow now. I would like to ask you to always wait for the microphone to be brought to you so that the sound will be good and so everybody will hear your question. Television, please.

[Reporter] How can the National Councils decide on the division of the state without avoiding a referendum?

[Geci] Just a minute!

[Klaus, in Czech] May I please first add something to be included into the announcement [words indistinct] to say precisely what we have forgotten. We would like the mass media to note this. In the course of the talks we had several telephone contacts, both of us, with the president. We briefed him stage-by-stage on the progress, and he did not come to Bratislava purely on the grounds that the conclusion of these talks had been continuously delayed. We promised him that in the course of the next week, after we put the final touches to several final issues of the personnel composition of the federal government, we would come together to brief the president on this. This is an addendum to our introductory statement.

[Geci] So, once again, may I ask Slovak television to pose the first question.

[Reporter] How can the National Councils decide on the division of the state without [passage indistinct]?

[Meciar] As for the position of the National Councils, we base it on the current constitutional status quo, where the federation can carry out activities only to the extent of the powers transferred to it by the National Councils. National Councils, however, in full. That means have the power to discuss the full range of questions. Even though, obviously, the final approval will be carried out in federal bodies. The language of the Referendum Act is very unlucky. Two alternatives are possible. There is a [need for a] referendum on essential changes to the Constitution, but abolishment is not an essential change. This problem is thus not dealt with from a legislative point of view. Next, there is another form: a possibility to decide on secession. But that can be done either by one republic or by both of them. To resolve these questions, [we need to determine] first, what it is we want, and second, what will be the extent of mutual

obligations. It is necessary for the National Councils to discuss this, being the only bodies relevant to do so from the legal point of view.

[Geci] Mr. Klaus?

[Klaus, in Czech] If I could add to perhaps make it more precise. By saying it would be an agreement between National Councils, so that it is not interpreted wrong, we said, by an agreement between National Councils. We did not say in what way and by what method it is going to be carried out. It means that the referendum method is in no way neither predestined as mandatory nor excluded. I hope that is clear.

[Reporter] You are saying that the referendum method is neither ruled out nor predetermined. Are you counting on using the referendum method? Or in other words, are you counting on the possibility that a citizen of this republic will be able to express his or her view on the dissolution of the state?

[Meciar] Well, first of all, we will have to find out what the content of the agreement between the two National Councils will be—whether they will reach an agreement. And if they do reach an agreement then the process of its adoption will have to be tackled. Our program states that the validity of these results is conditioned on the opinion of the citizens.

[Reporter, in English] Mr. Klaus, I have a question for you. I am a bit confused, to be honest. I would like to know if the agreement between the two National Councils will be dividing the assets and liabilities of the two republics? And I would also like to know if you agreed on (?any of the budgets, if you discussed the budgets?)

[Klaus, in Czech] Well, shall we translate or shall we answer in Czech or in English? What is your method? Well, the first question was whether we had decided how we would divide the assets and liabilities of the present common state, whether this would be done by the National Councils or somebody else. Well, at the moment this is for us a technical detail that is not an object of this agreement, but will be an object of the process that will be initiated and for which we have set a date—30 September 1992.

The second question was.... [Klaus changes thought] I forgot now. What was the second question, please?

[Reporter, in English] If you have agreed to change the current budget? What will happen to the federal budget?

[Klaus, in Czech] Please, on the contrary. We presume and insist and pledge that we will not intervene in any way in the 1992 budget—that is if we are talking about the current budget. We would like to stress this. Starting with 1993, the redistribution of financial means through the federal budget will end. I will not explain this in detail now, but it is clear that any income for the remaining federal budget at that time would only be based on contributions from the republics' budgets on a principle, which we have agreed upon today, of parity and proportion.

[Geci] Next question—Czech television, please.

[Reporter, in Czech] A question for Mr. Meciar: Is the Slovak National Council going to declare the independence of the Slovak Republic....[reporter corrects himself] Sorry, sovereignty of the Slovak Republic on 23 June? My second question is: For how long do you think this federal government with its program will survive?

[Meciar] Sovereignty and independence are two totally different terms both from the legal point of view and in reality—they are not the same thing. The Slovak National Council preliminary envisages, according to political programs, an announcement of a political declaration. This act should neither mean a disintegration of our state nor is it an act of independence. According to my knowledge, this is not going to take place on 23 June. On 23 June, only the bodies of the Slovak National Council are going to be set up.

As far as how long this federal government will survive is concerned, the dilemma already faced for two years by both the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic concerning the form of their cooperation and coexistence is now on the table, and it is necessary to decide about it in a democratic way. We still do not know the result of the decision today. We have agreed upon the process in order to arrive at the result because each of the parties has different priorities.

[Geci] Thank you. MLADA FRONTA, please.

[Reporter, in Czech] [words indistinct] I would like to ask two questions. The first question concerns point four. How do you imagine, or what chance do you give to an agreement between the National Councils being reached when at the same time the two parties note in the same political document that they hold fundamentally different views of a constitutional setup? This is my first question, for both chairmen. My second question: How does the program statement solve the problem of a possible deficit in the budgets of the National Councils....[corrects himself] of the national republics, providing it surpasses—for instance—20 percent? Is this case are these matters solved in any way by the program statement?

[Klaus, in Czech] As far as the first question is concerned, I would like to really stress that in order to initiate processes, mechanisms, there is no need for the National Councils to hold the same views or the same priorities and preferences as far as the target result of this process is concerned. We do not consider this to be a hindrance for starting these processes—and only these processes will determine the result. Our view is that it is really possible to start these processes on the basis of an agreement between the National Councils—i.e., to let them arrive at one decision or another .

[Reporter, in Czech] This therefore concerns the processes and not an agreement?

[Klaus, in Czech] An agreement on these processes—how to bring them about, how to carry them out.

As far as the second question is concerned, not a single word was in fact exchanged about the idea of exceeding the deficit by 1 percent, 5 percent, 10 percent, 20 percent. Nevertheless, if you want me to state my view again, I can quote you a sentence if you are concerned about the present budgets. We stress that the government is aware of the—how does it go—proposal that all the state budgets are going to be under considerable pressure until the end of 1992. That is why the state budget cannot be a tool of revitalizing the economy unless we are prepared to allow an upset of state finances—and this government does not intend to do so. The aim of the budgetary policy must continue to be the prevention of a deficit. Does this answer your question?

[Reporter] In my opinion, some indication of the mechanism is missing there. What will be the procedure in case that happens?

[Klaus, in Czech] Well, if you are familiar with certain differences in our election programs concerning short-term economic, financial, and budget policy, then, on the contrary, it is especially you—since I know and see what you write—who knows what these sentences mean.

[Geci] I would please ask you not to have a dialogue. Mr. Meciar please.

[Meciar] Shifting this process to the National Councils is a fully legitimate step. Other political groups will take part as well. Neither of us has an absolute majority in the National Council. Therefore, it has to be a matter for an agreement with other parties and deputies that form the National Councils.

[Geci] Slovak radio.

[Reporter] Two questions. How do you visualize the future development of society and the state in case the referendum ends negatively and there is a vote for a common state. Second question: You have not talked so far about the composition of the federal government. Does it mean another meeting will follow?

[Meciar] As for the first question, I would like to know what is positive and what is negative since the result, the outcome, may be positive for some and negative for others. It is a subjective assessment; the view of the majority of citizens will decide. As for the second part of the question, it is very difficult now for us to answer it straightforward. Processes that will devolve later are difficult to foresee. The composition of the federal government will need one more meeting where we shall discuss [specific] persons. Of course, the precondition of our proposals is the approval by the president of the republic, who is the only person the Constitution gives the right to entrust somebody with the formation of the government. That is beyond our powers.

[Geci] That lady, please.

[Reporter] I would be interested to know how the issue of the currency of both republics is dealt with in the program statement and also whether you can say who you would nominate for federal prime minister. What are the nominations like?

[Klaus, in Czech] Well if I may speak on the government statement, as long as you want some radical statements on what will happen to the central bank, there is not anything like that. You noticed that in the preamble the implementation of regular functions was stated and no super innovative steps were mentioned that would mean essential changes in comparison with the present. With regard to the currency policy, the government will continue to support the policy of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia to stabilize the currency and the exchange rate and expand internal convertibility as a precondition for the future introduction of full convertibility, etc. There is simply nothing that you would expect in connection with a drama about the central bank.

[Meciar] The name of the candidate for federal prime minister was not mentioned during the talks at all.

[Geci] One more question, please.

[Reporter] It was said several times during this evening, during today's talks, that the talks were coming to an end. Despite that they lasted late into the night. What, in the view of both sides, was the biggest stumbling block that protracted negotiations?

[Meciar] Well, naturally, to work out such a program requires a consensus by both sides. Yesterday, working groups produced working papers. To harmonize standpoints, to agree on the content down to a comma in a sentence, is a rather difficult thing to do. Also, the political agreement, preceded by an agreement on the principles of the government policy statement, contained a great number of controversial issues, some of which have been set aside, or solved on the principle of trust.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman, could you be a bit more specific?

[Meciar] The most difficult thing was to formulate article three of the agreement—the position on the constitutional setup.

[Geci] The last three questions, please.

[Reporter] Excuse me, but could the ODS express its view as well?

[Klaus, in Czech] Why did it take so long? Look, to write seven, no, to agree on seven pages and on what we regard as the biggest priorities in the area of legislation, what we regard as the biggest short-term priorities in the area of foreign policy, what we regard as the biggest priorities in the area of security and defense, on what our six priorities in economic policy for this period are, etc., are

simply things that take a long time, and it is no wonder that they took such a long time. We think these principles will be broadened extensively and that they will be a real acceptable basis for the work of the federal government itself. As to the agreement, the biggest problem was the issue of the constitutional setup, but each issue required a certain solution. The question of searching for a way to form other bodies besides the federal government required many long discussions.

[Geci] The last three questions—RUDE PRAVO, SMENA, and LIDOVE NOVINY.

[Reporter] I have a question for both chairmen. The result of your talks today will undoubtedly enter the history books of the modern times of our still common state. I would like to know with what emotions both of you are accepting this result. And a question for Mr. Meciar: Today your supporters nearly clashed with your opponents. I would like to know what message you would send to them this morning?

[Meciar] First of all, to follow the path of mutual tolerance and agreement. There is no need for us to fight with each other, nor argue with each other, but we must learn to understand each other. That is what I would like to tell them. I do not know what happened. Our feelings were somewhere else. If you are asking how we are accepting the agreement, well, with a feeling that we have resolved something. There were two big risks here. The first risk was that we would fail to reach any agreement, which would result in a constitutional crisis and for common bodies not to be able to start working. This would mean the federation would spontaneously collapse inwards. We wanted to prevent this—and we succeeded. It means we could say that we are arguing about jurisdictions but saved the functioning of the state. The other feeling we had was that both sides have a long negotiating vacuum between them. Programs are coming closer, persons are coming closer. I was satisfied with the fact that the arguments of both sides were very business-like, very straightforward, and principled. We did not concede a single word to each other, and we are pleased that what we are presenting is a result of a consensus. For instance, five alternatives of the political agreement were drafted. What we presented to you is the sixth. Given the time we had, we have achieved a remarkable thing. While everybody expected that everything would collapse and that today would be the end, in fact it is only the end of a certain working stage, not the end of the state.

[Klaus, in Czech] I would like to add in this context that I agree with Chairman Meciar's assessment. I think we have done a good job, a really good job. Risks were involved and we wanted to prevent those risks. Our view is that we have done the utmost possible, we consistently prevented extensive elements—which all of us would like to introduce—from being brought into this process. We were aware that we did not have any chance to achieve anything more than arriving at the highest common denominator of our views. This hard work has been done.

On the other hand, we think we have achieved a fair agreement and we think this agreement is all right. On my own behalf I have to say, of course, that a number of things that are included in the agreement I regard personally, as an individual, only with my heart bleeding. You know I was the only Czech politician who was also very active in the preelection period—with the uncertainty of the impact of those actions. I was the only one on the Czech political scene—of course, along with my ODS colleagues—who was also active in Slovakia; active in support of the idea of a common state on the basis of a reasonably defined federation. Thus, a number of things that are included in this agreement, in these principles of the program statement, are not of course easy for me from my personal point of view. Nevertheless, as a politician I have to say that I do this to the best of my knowledge and in accordance with my conscience. My feeling is that it was impossible to achieve a better solution.

[Geci] Thank you. SMENA—please wait until they reach you with the microphone.

[Reporter] A draft of the federal government's statement speaks about securing the defense and security of the citizens of our state. In this context I would be interested in how Slovakia's defense capability, which even in the last two years was considerably weakened and is rather incompetent, is going to be strengthened?

[Meciar] These questions were addressed in the draft of the program principles. Among other things, it says the principle of having soldiers do their national service according to the republic they are from is being adopted. This means that soldiers or conscripts from one of the republics would serve on the territory of their own republic, not on the territory of the other republic. The speeding up of troop redeployment was also discussed. The third principle that was adopted is that—the CSFR's financial situation allowing—some structural changes are going to be tackled. These were the issues specifically agreed upon in the program statement.

[Klaus, in Czech] I would only like to add that these things are included—Chairman Meciar quoted them almost 100 percent as they are written—and I do not have anything to correct. Nevertheless, please let us not make a mistake and do not forget one sentence of the preamble that was read here and which in Slovak goes [Klaus switches to Slovak]: This is why it [the federal government] understands its mandate is limited by time. [Klaus switches to Czech] Please let us really not expect fundamental changes of some existing matters within the life-span of this mandate which is limited by time.

[Geci] Thank you. LIDOVE NOVINY.

[Reporter] I have a question for both chairmen. Has the election of the president been discussed, and if so, where

there any changes in opinions? And then a question for Mr. Meciar on sovereignty. Is it expected that at some further meeting of the Slovak National Council this issue will be dealt with?

[Meciar] As for the election of the president, as usual, it was the topic of negotiations. The ODS submitted this problem—it demanded some compromise solution. The HZDS kept its stance. On the issue of sovereignty, one has to answer by saying that according to the program principles, the HZDS will initiate the adoption of a political declaration on sovereignty at some future meeting of the Slovak National Council. I think we will give enough notice so the public and media will be informed about this.

[Klaus, in Czech] I have to say that Mr. Meciar said it exactly. Both parties not only kept their stances, he said we had stressed the reasons that made us continue holding these stances. We discussed it, and we submitted specific proposals. It would be premature to present them now. But it was something along those lines.

[Geci] Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention. Alas, it is too late. You have to let both chairmen get a chance to get some sleep. Thank you.

Havel Discusses Agreement

LD2106152192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova in Prague Castle on 20 June; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] This morning another round of talks between the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] ended in a political agreement. Do you like the agreement?

[Havel] This week's talks culminated in the adoption of a political agreement between these two parties and of principles of the government policy statement. One last thing remains to be done, and that is to present to me a proposal of the composition of this government, or, in particular, of its premier, whom I will then ask to present to me his proposals on the personnel composition of the government. I will assess the proposals and then appoint the government, but, naturally, only after the present government has resigned.

As far as the results of yesterday's nearly 12 hour-long talks are concerned, I think that they have certain clear pluses, several clear good elements.

First, they open the possibility for forming and appointing a federal government. This alone, in today's tense polarized political situation, is a certain achievement. There is no danger of collapse of the state administration, and no government, constitutional, and political crises. Simply, there will be a government. These agreements have created basic preconditions for appointing the government. I can agree or disagree with this or that minister, can argue for the appointment of another one. All this is possible, but there will be nothing difficult, complex, and controversial since a base exists that characterizes the purpose of the government. One cannot form a government without an agreement on its purpose. This is the first plus.

Another considerable and important plus for the text of both the agreement and the principles of the policy statement is a clear pledge by both sides to continue the post-November [1989] development, the vast transformation changes. Here I cannot find any change, of course. The economic reform continues, privatization continues, the building of democratic structures continues. The opening up to Europe, the continuation of our foreign policy, all this is entrenched in the two documents, and this is also very significant.

Of course, this is limited. It is limited by the time of existence of our federation. It is a government that should continue with everything good that was begun in this country during the past two and a half years. The government should continue with that on the territory of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic until the moment when, eventually, this republic will be transformed into two republics. This is limited by time, but the pledge itself is extremely important and I have no doubt that this point will receive general support in parliament as well as from those parties that are not members of this government coalition.

Of course, a clear-cut agreement on the idea of this government coalition and of this federal government about the future of our state could not have been achieved in the texts [of the two documents], since it is an agreement between two political parties with radically different ideas about the future of our state. On this issue, no agreement has been reached, could not have been, and this is also stated in the agreement.

I regard it as very important—and this is the third plus of the documents—that this government is not indefinitely postponing a decision on this matter, that it sets a date.

Another plus—this is the fourth plus—of this agreement is that it uses clear language. It clearly states that we will either be one state with one international status, that is, one common state, or two states, that is two states, each with international status, which will then search for an optimum way of good-neighborly coexistence. Here a spade has been called a spade.

I dare to say that I made a modest contribution to this purification and to this transparency by ensuring, in my long talks with the HZDS delegation, that things were given clear names. People could have been quite confused by speculation about a smooth transition from a federation into a confederation, and about the international status of both republics with the present existence of the common state. All these various projects, ideas, and concepts were obscuring the real state of affairs. Here the real state of affairs is clearly set out. Moreover, the date 30 September is given here.

This is the positive side of the agreements. The talks were extremely complicated and every word was fought for, both sides had to make significant concessions. The Slovak side, specifically the HZDS, gave up the idea of state secretaries, gave up a pledge to abolish federal mass media and some other federal institutions. The Czech side, the ODS, on the other hand accepted the principle of parity in the government, and this is an element typical for a confederation when the principle of parity applies in the sphere of executive power. Nevertheless, it is a part of such talks that both sides should make concessions.

The only thing I consider a rather problematic point is that although the dateline is given—the process of clarifying our constitutional setup must be initiated by 30 September by an agreement of the National Councils—the formulation allows for several possibilities, it is a bit ambiguous, as if also allowing for a possibility of an unconstitutional method. Though it is stipulated there that the two sides are going to honor the constitutional principles and take a strictly constitutional course of action, this formulation at the same time also allows for the possibility of the splitting of our state in a way other than by a withdrawal of one republic or both republics from the federation on the basis of a referendum.

I would have welcomed it if these agreements had clearly said that a possible transformation of our common state into two states would be decided by the deadline of 30 September by our citizens in a referendum. This is for the time being the only constitutional method for carrying out such a transformation. Moreover, this is also, I would say, the only moral way, because our citizens really have the right to express their views on such a fundamental issue through giving a clear answer to a clear question.

The fact is that the parties' election programs included alternatives, contradictory formulations, vague formulations, and in my view the election result should not be unequivocally accepted as a decision on this fundamental issue. This should really be, also from the moral point of view, expressed through a referendum—and as we are all well aware this is so far the only constitutional way of splitting our state into two, providing the Federal Assembly does not adopt a constitutional law allowing for another method. This is a clear method and generally accepted by the international community as a legitimate method. A referendum is one of the common demands in the process of recognition of new states. This is, to be honest, what I miss in ths documents.

Of course, we cannot say that this is excluded; the formulation is vague and broad to the extent that it also allows for the possibility of a referendum. Nevertheless, it is not clearly stated in the documents. And though I am of course going to agree with the government based on this political agreement and on the program statement ensuing from it, that is, if I am going to agree with its personnel appointments, and I am not going to cause any difficulties, any complications, I am going to accept it—at the same time I am going to consider it my duty to draw attention to this point again and again.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, what do you think is going to happen next week and, mainly, what are you, yourself, going to do?

[Havel] I am not a clairvoyant, I do not know all that is going to happen, but I can anticipate certain things and I can make certain plans.

I have already mentioned that an important point next week will be, obviously and hopefully, the moment when Mr. Klaus and Mr. Meciar come to tell me the names of the members of the federal government they will have agreed upon, what person they will have agreed upon for the post of premier. I will formally ask the premier to officially present the proposal for the composition of the government, I will assess it and at the right moment, after the present government has resigned, which is to be on 26 June, I will appoint the new government.

However, that is not the only thing that will happen next week. I will hold very intensive talks with other political parties and, if the case may be, with various parties together. I will say farewell to the present federal government. I will thank them for their work; and it has been no small amount of work. Although, understandably, in the new circumstances, anyone you like to think of is abusing it or can abuse it, this government was the one which launched the enormous social changes taking place in our country. It deserves the gratitude of all our citizens. [passage omitted]

Next week I will address the Federal Assembly, at its first session. My idea is that after the election of all the bodies of the Federal Assembly, when both chambers convene for their joint session, after the swearing in of all the deputies, I will address this newly elected Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

I would like to say that the decisions which we all, including myself, are making in these dramatic and tense days are decisions which one day may be the topic of history textbooks. Be it the history of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia, or Czech history, they are very serious decisions. Every word one says is important and if I am speaking, for instance, at this moment or at other times during these days rather more slowly than usual, then it is because I am aware of the great, I could say, historical responsiblity and I am aware of the importance and reach of every word.

In this I am not alone. The very first paragraph of the political agreement between the ODS and the HZDS says the same—that both parties are aware of the historical significance of the moment and the responsibility which they are bearing.

And so I would like to add that if I am stuttering, if my voice is hoarse, if I am speaking slowly, it is not because I am desperate. It is not because I am in a state of utter

hopelessness. It is because I am aware of the seriousness of my every single, even smallest act in this strained time.

On the other hand, however, I must say that I have not been caught unawares. It might seem that after two and a half years of effort to create the image of our federation, the new and more just structure of our common state, I could have somehow been put out of countenance by the present dramatic events. I do not feel so. All my life I have been used to finding myself in new and difficult situations requiring wise decisons, and in dangerous situations. I have some practice in these things. I have not therefore, been caught unawares, I am just trying to behave wisely and since all the possible decisons, no matter what they are, will be criticized by somebody, I must opt for the one which to me personally, to my conscience—this last and supreme authority—seems to be the relatively most correct one, the relatively wisest one. [passage omitted]

Klaus Views Results of Talks

LD2006163492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Interview with Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party by Czechoslovak Radio correspondents Alexander Picha and Katerina Kasparova and Radio Plus correspondent Oldrich Sestak in Budapest on 20 June; questions by individual correspondents not attributable—recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr. Chairman, how is the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] on its own part satisfied with the result of the Bratislava meeting?

[Klaus] I am convinced that we have done the maximum. We have done the maximum wherever possible by dialogue or argumentation to influence the result. We could not force the other side to a unilateral action on its own part which is in its jurisdiction to change it. I think that we all understand that. But whoever reads our agreement, whoever reads or hears the draft principles of the government statement can see whose language is manifest there. I think that those of you who have heard it and have heard sentences from us, and I think that it is obvious that, in this respect, it is possible to do the maximum because we never doubted and will not doubt the democratic development of this country, its having a market economy as soon as possible. We are very glad that we did not have to make a single step back in this direction because I think that our arguments have been clearly tabled.

[Question] You have clearly demonstrated that the decision on state administrative arrangement will remain with the National Councils. What policy will be implemented in this direction by the ODS in the Czech National Council? How will you try to avoid new Papiernicky? [talks between the Czech and the Slovak sides]

[Klaus] Well, new Papiernicky is a bad omen for all of us. We know that we do not want it. I think that the Slovak side does not want it either. That is my basic feeling because the lack of respect to the manner in which discussions (?had been) conducted is common to us in this sense and the view predominates that speed, clarity, clearly tabled alternatives and solutions, simply maintaining something strange where the federation will be analyzed quietly, where it will be called a federation formally, but will be degraded to completely empty shell—we shall not accept it and I think that as of the beginning of these talks we have made it clear quite distinctly. In this way we also brought the situation to where it is now and we think that it is correct.

[Question] Would it not be a clear signal in this direction if the ODS proposed President Havel not as Czechoslovak president but as Czech president?

[Klaus] Since no Czech president exists it would be useless to propose anyone at the moment. This requires further steps at the moment when one would arrive at the conclusion that either as a reaction to a one-sided step of the Slovak side or our own development we would start, in a constitutional way, to initiate the post of the Czech president then it would be obvious who we would propose, but that is not a question today on 20 June. Naturally, we are preparing these variants and we are considering them carefully.

[Question] Have you noted any reactions from the Czech political arena to the agreement reached yesterday?

[Klaus] I must admit that, for the time being, as of yesterday,—well, the agreement was reached some time after midnight and since then I just stood there for a short while and then I travelled from Bratislava to see you here—(?I have had no time) to hear any reaction from anyone. You will have to advise me about what the reaction was.

[Question] Mr. chairman, the federal communications media—radio, television, and the Czechoslovak press agency were also discussed. What were the results here?

[Klaus] We insisted that the mandate of this government is truly a temporary mandate and since it is temporary this government has no justification to engage in activities which I would describe as innovative activities. It should engage in journeyman activities. To abolish hirtherto significant, high-profile institutions is a highly innovative activity, albeit in the negative sense. I think that with this temporaray mandate the government has no right to do it. Questions about whether the mandate changes from a temporary one to a different one—what viewpoints it would take—that is a completely different story. But at the moment we regard this matter as completely superfluous. In any case, not only in this matter but also in others, we do not consider it possible for two political parties to agree on such a matter. [Words indistinct] simply stopped working. Now that we are rebuilding the Czechoslovak economy a process of transformation is involved. In any case, even the federal

radios and televisions will have to experience a process of transformation and, just as there must be privatization projects, there will have to be a project to transform federal radio or federal television. It will have to be a normal process, decreed by the government, discussed in the committees of the Federal Assembly; no hasty steps. We will certainly not consider hasty moves.

[Question] In case it transpires in the end that the federal government will not have a temporary mandate if the National Councils decide in this way, is it possible that budgetary rules will return to their current likeness?

[Klaus] These are speculations. This government has not been drafting alternative scenarios for budgetary policy one way or another. This government is indicating that along this road of disintegration of the federation it is not possible to continue with the redivision processes and that is why we selected a system which represents a combination of parity and proportionality, if you noted the formulations.

Some things truly must be conducted on a one-to-one principle, some things can be conducted on the principle of population size. That is why it is not by chance that two adjectives are used—parity and proportionality. Naturally, the combination of these two principles involves a long-term effort to find how these two principles are to be harmonized in every specific case for every specific period.

[Question] It is clear that the Civic Democratic Party does not think a confederation can be functional. If there is to be no federation what is the closest connection with the Slovak Republic that will be possible?

[Klaus] Be careful when you speak about a nonfunctional confederation. We are saying that a confederation is not a common state. That two states can create a set of states and, for example, defend each other by using the same defense doctrine and call itself a confederation. We are not discussing this at all. We are saying that this is not a common state that this is a form of split of the common state, a division of the common state. These are two independent states. Put simply, jokes to the effect that two states, each a subject of international law in its own right, with two seats in the United Nations, is a common state—this is really a joke for us, it is really not possible to try to convince someone about this in earnest.

[Question] So after the split what relations will you want to establish with the Slovak Republic?

[Klaus] After the split—I do not accept the question without the conditional, without the word "would". This difference is important. Let us not introduce this wording without the conditional. We are not predetermining the result, our duty is take part in the creation of a process which will make it possible to see this choice with clarity. Therefore, if it happens, it is clear that these are countries which have lived through many things together in the past. They are neighbors, and it is aimed to have relations as friendly as possible, as functional as possible, as smooth as possible, and so on. But it is not a common state, it really is not.

Carnogursky Comments on Outcome of Talks

LD2106110492 Prague CSTK in English 1157 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 19 (CSTK)—Outgoing Slovak Premier and KDH [Christian Democratic Party] Chairman Jan Carnogursky today said the course of talks between the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] and the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] indicates that the international community can count with the existence of two independent states (Czech and Slovak) within several months.

Carnogursky told a press conference that the majority of Slovakia's population would be against the republic's independence, if a referendum on Czechoslovakia's future constitutional system were held today. He said it is not certain whether a referendum will be held at all. "The type of questions, as suggested by the HZDS, that is choosing between three and more alternatives of a constitutional system would be no referendum but just a more representative public opinion survey", Carnogursky said.

He pointed out the KDH will do its utmost for "democracy in Slovakia not to be once referred to as a matter of the past". "I think we are strong enough to effectively protect democracy", Carnogursky said.

Czech, Slovak Press Reviews Agreement

LD2006163192 Prague CSTK in English 1104 GMT 20 Jun 92

["Press Review"]

[Text] Prague June 20 (CSTK)—Saturday's "LIDOVE NOVINY" notes in its editorial the turn that occurred in negotiations between Czech and Slovak representatives. "Surprisingly enough, talk of the need to preserve a sort of common state, and of reasons why a decision should not be rushed is being now heard from the Danube", the daily writes.

The Slovak side has now the unusual task to explain to the Czech side why its concepts would be advantageous for each side and for both simultaneously, and also Czech interests are finally being defined, the daily adds.

In the same paper, HZDS [Movement for Democratic Slovakia] Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska says the most negative aspect of the privatisation of state-owned property is that it is not transparent and cannot be properly controlled. Originally direct sales should have been exceptional but in reality this method and coupon privatisation prevailed.

In "TELEGRAF" the former chairman of the Slovak anti-monopoly office, Lubomir Dolgos, who is participating in the ODS-HZDS [Civic Democratic Party-Movement for Democratic Slovakia] talks, writes that both sides have identical views on economic questions. The compromise was possible due to some degree of free scope in the programmes of the two parties, which made a "breakthrough" possible. Dolgos rules out the possibility of the HZDS stopping the privatization process, but he does not rule out that some privatization projects might be reassessed.

CSSD [Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party] Chairman Jiri Horak says in an interview for "LIDOVE NOVINY" that his party will avoid any confrontation with the new government in the next three months. Horak describes the LSU [Liberal Social Union] and HSD-SMS [Self-governing Democracy Movement Society for Moravia and Silesia] in the Czech lands, and the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement], the Hungarian parties and Alexander Dubcek's SDSS [Social Democratic Party in Slovakia] in Slovakia as his party's possible allies.

Horak also says that the leftist attitude of the HZDS is not at all definite as there are many streams within the movement, which have nothing in common with the left.

Milan Cic, a member of the HZDS delegation at Friday's talks with the ODS in Bratislava, says the media are creating panic by spreading information about Czechoslovakia's breakup by September 30. Cic says the end of the September is only a deadline for presenting proposals for the forms of possible agreements between the two republics. Since the talks so far have been constructive, the federation is unlikely to split in September, Cic says.

In the daily "TELEGRAF" KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party] Chairman Josef Lux predicts there will be problems in coalition talks in the Czech Republic. He rejected the ODS request for 13 seats in the 25-seat Presidium of the Czech parliament. In the Czech Government there is a consensus that the ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] and the KDU-CSL will have one fifth of the portfolios each, and three fifths will go the ODS. But, he says, the KDU-CSL is against the Czech Ministry of Control and the Federal and Czech Interior Ministries being taken by the ODS.

In this connection, "MLADA FRONTA DNES" says the KDU-CSL and the ODA have realised they are indispensable for the forming of a functioning rightist government and its support in the Czech parliament.

"CESKY DENIK" says ODS leader Vaclav Klaus can be expected to be attacked for having given up the common state and having fled the hot spot of the federation for the relatively safe Czech Government. Klaus, however, did not abandon his programme of a functioning state and therefore his decision should not be a subject of criticism, the paper says.

Bratislava—The Slovak daily "PRAVDA" today says that close observers of HZDS leader Vladimir Meciar found that he intends to prevent the election of a president in order to enable the federal parliament Presidium, which will be dominated by the left, to take over the role of the "head of state"—in other words, a leftist coup.

Even if this was Meciar's goal, which can be very much doubted, all democrats must realise that the left dominates the parliament Presidium as a result of free elections, the daily says.

Current federal parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek says in an interview for "NARODNA OBRODA" that "Slovaks certainly do not wish the common state to break up, but they are seeking justice (in this state)". He says coexistence of two nations requires understanding and tolerance. It is impossible for a stronger nation to dictate its will to the weaker or use its better economic position to pursue its own concepts. "This applies also to certain specific aspects of Slovakia's economic position, particularly as regards the conversion of the arms industry into civilian production and unemployment", Dubcek says.

SNS [Slovak National Party] leader Jozef Prokes says in the daily "NOVY CAS" that "We are not in the least interested in provoking conflicts with any national minority in Slovakia". Cooperation between all groups of the population is the only way in which Slovakia can achieve prosperity, Prokes says, and adds that the minorities could be a sort of bridge between Slovakia and their homeland.

Civic Democratic Union (ODU) Deputy Chairman and Slovak Privatisation Minister Ivan Miklos says in the trade union daily "PRACA" that "if the wish of the decisive majority of (Slovakia's) citizens is materialized in a peaceful and constitutional manner, all of us, supporters of the federation, will have to respect it". "If the country splits into independent Czech and Slovak states, we shall experience a long period of economic decline", Miklos said.

"PRACA" writes in another article that according to Meciar Slovak citizens must know that if Slovakia becomes a subject of international law, there will follow a temporary deterioration of their economic situation, and they must be willing to bear its impact for some time. The people should therefore be informed by HZDS leaders what is only a scare and what really must happen, the daily says, adding that up till now citizens have been receiving only information with a political undertone.

Slovak Radio Comments on Agreement

LD2106105192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1030 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Commentary of the week by Bohuslav Piatko]

[Text] We do not want Milovy again. This was said by Vladimir Meciar on 18 June 1992 shortly before 2100. No more Papiernicka and no more Trencianske Teplice. This was said by Vaclav Klaus at the same news conference the same day. This is the day which will be noted in the future by historians, now mainly by politicians and, I think, with some relief by the inhabitants of both republics.

In yesterday's Prague-Bratislava radio bridge Mr. Just, a representative of the Federal Council for Mass Media, was also among the politicians. He said that such a broadcast is evidence that a Czechoslovakia federal radio station is needed, and it should operate in this way. You who have listened know it is true, but there is a need for one correction: Yesterday's joint broadcast was well-balanced, with equal representation of both sides, although nobody was counting the exact timing available for each side. There is one reason for this: It was not covered by Radio Czechoslovakia but by Czech Radio and Slovak Radio on Czechoslovakia's radio station network, and this is a very important difference. Parity in representation has been attained without problems, we have no worries whether what we say in Bratislava will be accepted by Prague and vice versa.

I always say that the functioning of the radio is a model of life in the republic and the state. Naturally I do not want and cannot speak today about the problems of the radio. The aforementioned broadcast however shows the justified demands of the Slovak side to abolish the mass media which are controlled Federally and to have a Federal radio and television network which will be covered by the programs of national public radio and television institutions.

I do not speak about the policy for mass media solely in order to support the demands pronounced by representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia immediately after the elections, and which immediately created so much indignation in Federal political circles, and maybe also in the Czech ones. Simply it cannot be done in any other way. The Czechs and the Slovaks are able to reach agreement, they are able to exist side by side—President Havel said this too—on the basis of this or that principle. However, a decision about Slovakia must be made in Slovakia and decisions about the Czech lands must be made in the Czech lands. It should not be the case that decisions about Czechoslovakia are made in the Czech lands.

Let us come back to the political events of this week. I will not repeat and analyze what we all felt and listened to. The talks between Klaus and Meciar had a rather unfortunate start. I would even say that they started with a display of vanity and defiance. This was not good, and the lack of exact information and—let us be quite direct—a certain negativism on the part of the representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia toward the mass media caused quite a bit of ill. Guesses, lack of accuracy. and hysteria. All in all, however, the incoming government team has been much faster in learning than the previous one. It was able to comprehend things in less than two weeks, while the previous one did not understand them in two years.

This week started on Sunday. I repeat: it started with defiance on both sides. Vladimir Meciar at the end went to the castle on Monday and Vaclav Klaus adopted the program of the talks of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia for the Wednesday meeting. This is the reason why I described 18 June, that is the middle of the week, as the key day of post-November development in the state set-up. The program of the talks by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia has shown that it is not very removed from the left bloc in the Czech lands. On the level of the Federation, Klaus' coalitional and victorious conglomeration might not at all be the decisive factor. The pragmatist Vaclav Klaus was very fast in working this out. Therefore he decided to go to the government of the Czech Republic instead of trying to maintain the absurd and non-maintanable federation. In particular, as the assertiveness of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia indicated very clearly, the possibility of unilateral steps on the Slovak side. This is why I think a decision was made on Wednesday. Yesterday was only a difficult but still a political-legal prolongation of what happened on Wednesday.

Many people might have been taken aback by the unbelievable retreat of Vaclav Klaus, who in the past used to act in a different manner, at least as assertively as Vladimir Meciar. I would however like to say that the retreat of Vaclav Klaus is only apparent. He has an equal panache within the framework of the position and the program targets of his party as his Slovak counterpart.

As I have said, on Wednesday he and the leadership of the victorious Czech coalition clarified in the talks with the Slovaks victors and in their previous talks with other parties, that in the Federation in practical terms they might not have any chance at all. This is the reason for the program of the talks by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia and their insistence on Wednesday rather than on Monday. Vladimir Meciar has the open support of the Slovak National Party—even if they are not in the coalition—more succinct support from the Party of Democratic Left, and the Czech Left Bloc is not alien to him. If you look at it from the viewpoint of the economic intentions of Vaclav Klaus—I use the words which are common, which are right-wing, and Meciar's are, in a social sense left wing—it is obvious why the problems have become so simple.

If the mass media were to say this week that a diamond cut a diamond, I would say they are not quite right. Somebody, in this case Slovakia, took the diamond in its own hand, used the diamond which it could cut as a millstone, and it wants to take its own diamond for its own use. It does not say that its neighbor does not have the same right and this neighbor must understand that he is not the only ruler in the entire land.

A number of commentators in the mass media have been raising another problem: the problem of the course of steps which the Slovak side has been promoting, and since yesterday the Czech side, but not the federal side. I will put it simply: Dear colleagues, do not confuse and disorientate the nation anymore. The declaration of sovereignty is not a declaration of independence. In particular, if this is going to be a political declaration which is today promoted by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, the father of which is—even in the form of a constitutional law—the Slovak National Party.

Slovakia would really show itself in an unbelievable light if after such election results and within the framework of the referendum, with regard to ratification of the referendum, it did not confirm its sovereignty. Let us however not confuse a ratification referendum with regard to sovereignty with a referendum on the state set-up. Only a sovereign republic with its own constitution can decide how it will live with its existing partner who has been with it until now, whether Slovakia will confirm its sovereignty in a confederation as a subject of international law, whether it would go for a complete independence, or whether it will abandon its sovereignty in the referendum and continues as an unknown European region. I think this is the way in which we need to name the concepts and the future results of these concepts.

Only one sentence after yesterday's talks in Hotel Borik in Bratislava and the nocturnal news conference. It is a result of yesterday's decision by Mr. Klaus under pressure from the conglomerations which Mr. Meciar has been able to put together. This is a step equally toward Czech sovereignty as toward Slovak sovereignty. Vaclav Klaus actually said it last night as the first post-November politician.

The policy statement of the government will certainly be the topic of further commentaries. I only want to say the following: It is agreed that a redundant Federal Government will be formed.

Maybe it would be interesting to take notice of the office of the president, but his statements are well known and his position in this situation is clear. After all it is a good thing that information is concentrated there, with him. It is a pity that he continues to be a playwright instead of being a pragmatist like Vaclav Klaus.

In conclusion, let me come back with a few words on Slovakia: This panache type of development might have surprised a lot of people and many might have been taken unawares. The politicians oriented toward Slovakia are taking the scepter. However, one certain point frightens me slightly: whether a political conglomeration which is in such a clear position of power, practically without a serious parliamentary opposition, will be able to secure a democratic life in Slovakia. Whether, for example, in the case of the mass media, the plurality of views will be an injection making things more dynamic or an injection killing the views of the opposition. In this case I do not place what is Slovak higher than what is democratic.

However, I believe that it is impossible to advance now in any way other than in a European, Slovak, and a democratic way.

Klaus Says New Federal Premier To Be Czech Citizen

LD2106154992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) have more or less agreed that the premier of the new federal government will be a citizen of the Czech Republic. This was stated today by ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus at a news conference in Prague. He added that this was an oral agreement.

According to Vaclav Klaus, the post of premier will be significant in the 10-member cabinet because in the event of a voting tie, the premier will have the deciding vote.

Vaclav Klaus further announced that it has been agreed that the minister of foreign affairs will be a citizen of a different republic than the premier. There will be similar parity for the pairs of posts of minister of defense-minister of the interior and minister of finance-minister of the economy.

Vaclav Klaus does not expect further talks between the ODS and the HZDS on the composition of the government to be as long as the preceding talks. The time and date of the next talks between the election victors have not yet been stipulated, said the ODS chairman.

Meciar Calls Klaus Comment 'Rash'

LD2206121392 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1030 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], told journalists in Bratislava today that a decision about the personnel composition of the federal government will not be made before the Federal Assembly is constituted. In this connection, he described the statement by Vaclav Klaus on Sunday about the personnel composition of the federal government as premature and rash. He said that they agreed with Vaclav Klaus to keep silent on this matter.

The HZDS chairman reacted in this way to the Sunday statement by the chief of the Civic Democratic Party, according to which both political subjects agreed verbally that a new federal prime minister will be a citizen of the Czech Republic.

When asked whether in the case of his appointment as a prime minister of the Slovak Government, Vladimir Meciar would give up his deputy mandate, he said he

would not because a law will be adopted about the incompatibility of a deputy mandate and holding office within the government. On the basis of this law a member of the government will be replaced in the parliament by a stand-in. His mandate will be reinstituted when he ceases to hold government office. Vladimir Meciar added that if he gave up his mandate himself he would lose this option.

Vladimir Meciar described a question of whom he would like most to see in the office of Slovak president as getting ahead of events, because such an office has not yet been set up. He said: Wait until the offices are set up. People will be found.

HZDS Nominates Chairman for Federal Premier

LD1906180692 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Rudolf Filkus, chairman of the Council of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], was nominated by his movement today for the post of federal premier. At the same time Rudolf Filkus confirmed that both the Civic Democratic Party and the HZDS are interested in filling this post. In his words the federal government can be called a "liquidation" government only because it is going to abolish some ministries. Rudolf Filkus went on to say that it is not necessary to attribute everything bad to President Vaclav Havel since he did not ask Vaclav Klaus to form the federal government but he had ask him to negotiate it.

According to Rudolf Filkus the representatives of political parties, however strong they may be, cannot resolve the state set-up issue. This is a matter for parliament and the government that needs to be formed as soon as possible so that they can start dealing with it.

No Nominees Yet Recieved for 3 July Elections

LD2106121692 Prague CSTK in English 1928 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 19 (CSTK)—Despite the public discussion of various candidates for Czechoslovak president, no one has been officially nominated as the new Federal Assembly (parliament), which elects the president, has not yet been convened.

This applies also to current President Vaclav Havel, who has the support of the majority of Czech political parties.

Elections for president are to be held in the parliament on July 3, after the body is convened on June 25 or 26. Only members of parliament can nominate candidates.

Havel in a radio address broadcast June 14 called into question his earlier-announced plans to run for reelection, saying he does not want to preside over the "liquidation" of the Czechoslovak Federation if it becomes obvious the country will break up.

Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the SPR-RSC, whose party will have 14 deputies in the new parliament, has said he plans to be a candidate. Another possible candidate is former Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher (KDU-CSL), who may get support from the KSCM.

Candidates for president must be nominated no later than 72 hours before the established date for the elections, which will be conducted by secret ballot.

To be elected, a nominee must receive three-fifths of the vote in the parliament's house of the people and in both the Czech and Slovak sections of the House of Nations. If no candidate is elected, a second round of voting is to be held no later than fourteen days after the first round. In the second round, a successful candidate must receive a simple majority of votes in all sections of the parliament. If this fails to produce a president- elect, a third round is to be called another fourteen days later, in which new candidates not among those in the first round are nominated, and the earlier two-round voting arrangement is repeated. If this still fails to produce a successful nominee, another round of voting may be called another fourteen days later.

If no candidate is elected, the current president, Vaclav Havel, will remain in office until October 5, when executive power will be taken up by the Federal Government.

Antall Criticizes Communists at MDF Meeting

LD2106215992 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—"It is an absurdity that people who shake off their past like some snake-skin should lecture us about democracy. As if they had nothing to do with the destruction of the country, we now see that former (communist) central committee secretaries make the best reformers, the best liberals, who know everything better than we do, for they are allegedly skilled experts. What they forget to mention is that they led the country into bankruptcy," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, said at a meeting of the MDF's Christian democratic group, held in Kecskemet on Sunday.

In his closing speech at the end of the two-day conference, the prime minister stressed that the road covered so far should be analyzed now, at half-time between the 1990 and the 1994 parliamentary elections. The fact, that the country and the region are in a serious situation should not be concealed. The efforts made, and the results achieved during this time by the party that came to power with confidence from the people should be clearly set down, alongside repeating, again and again, the serious inheritance it received, Antall said.

Those who think Russia has given up its role in the Central European region are naive, Antall said. It is also to be feared that the former ruling class will return to power, but now with the strength of capital. When preparing for the next elections, care should be taken that the former communist leading group not appear again as a new bourgeoisie, in a new role, possibly as social democrats, the prime minister said.

President Goncz Discusses Media Situation

LD2006122892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0815 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Interview with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] What is your opinion of the present situation in the media—the things relating to radio and television? I do not like to talk about this either because to some extent, I personally am concerned and this is the institution broadcasting our conversation. Nevertheless, I am supposed to ask your opinion.

[Goncz] Well, we have to look into this matter from several angles. Let us begin with a recently published, and I must think an absolutely objective opinion poll, which proved, if I remember well, that from 1989 by the end of 1990 the number of viewers or listeners of political programs broadcast both in radio and on television had dropped to one-third, or half of the previous figure, irrespective of the fact whether they were liberal like "168 Hours" or national ones like "Panorama" or "The Week." Needless to say, I put both adjectives in quotes. This means that these political programs are increasingly losing their credibility.

Let me add to this, the public media which have been talked of a lot, I would rather call them national ones, are losing their credibility. They could retain their credibility if the programs did not extinguish each other's effects and remained objective. This, however, is the issue of the freedom of the press. A government or an opposition can possibly gain the most if they do not influence the above mentioned public or national media. This was invented, discovered by our ancestors three years ago because the freedom of the press is included in our Constitution and the leaders of the media were selected acccording to a common understanding. Generally, we seem to have forgotten this word common understanding which we call consensus, or concord.

In a country where vital questions are concerned it is impossible to govern without understanding. We can only beat each other to death without understanding which is not certain whether it is healthy for the country as a whole.

A war is going on whose only loser is the public and nobody is a winner. This is not a legal issue but a political one and political goodwill is needed to resolve it. The Constitutional Court may be involved in it but it will only be resolved if they sit down and talk to each other and find the men for it. [passage omitted]

Government Reviews Treaty on Power Plant

LD2106112692 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (MTI)—At its Thursday session the Hungarian Government reviewed the situation which has resulted in the wake of cancelling the interstate treaty on building the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power plant.

As well as distributing relevant tasks among the ministries, the group also discussed how to disperse 500 million forints set aside for this purpose.

The government authorized the Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Water Management to settle compensation and court cases arising from dispossessed properties and building bans related to the project, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told journalists during a break in the session. The ministry will also be responsible for both the Danube waterway development program and for restoring the Nagymaros-Visegrad region, Laszlo said.

It authorized the Ministry of Environmental Protection to prepare new territory settlement and development plans for the part of the Danube which flows from Rajka to Nagymaros, and to set up the Danube monitoring system to serve as a monitor on the environment.

Minister Without Portfolio Ference Madl will deal with legal affairs following the contract's cancellation.

He will also be responsible for completely appraising any damage that may have occurred since halting construction on the power plant, taking measures in the interest of halting the work still in progress on the Czech and Slovak side, and for preparing the new Czechoslovak-Hungarian inter-state treaty needed to restore the region.

Also among the topics discussed by the government was the need to conclude a government-level tourism contract with Mexico.

The government reviewed the state of the budget with respect to the higher than expected deficit. The government believes the main reason for the deficit is that revenues failed to develop as planned.

The government decided to ask parliament to authorize financing a higher deficit. A related bill will shortly be submitted to parliament.

The government also decided to raise the hard currency provisions of tourists. Accordingly, those over the age of 14 will be able to purchase hard currency at the equivalent of 350 dollars a year, while children under the age of 14 are entitled to hard currency cash at the equivalent of 150 dollars a year.

Jovanovic, Jeszenszky Discuss Ethnic Hungarians

LD2106105392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 20 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serbia respects the norms of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on ethnic minorities and will prevent every attempt at unconstitutional treatment of the minorities in its territory, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said in Budapest on Friday [19 June].

In a brief stop-over in Budapest en route from United Nations headquarters in New York, Minister Jovanovic had a two-hour informal talk on Friday night with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

A statement released on Saturday says that the talk related to the most important questions of bilateral relations and the Yugoslav crisis.

Jovanovic refuted allegations that the Hungarian ethnic minority in the Serbian province of Vojvodina was threatened. In this context, the officials discussed Hungary's recent request for an international force to be sent to the Serbian provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo. The discussion brought to light a difference in views on Budapest's initiative.

The initiative, presented by Jeszenszky at a session of the NATO Cooperation Council in Oslo earlier this month, has not been very well received in Hungary's political public. The parliamentary foreign policy committee said on Wednesday [17 June] that Budapest's move had not been well received in the world.

KPN Walks Out of Government Coalition Talks

LD1906212992 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2045 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] We received information just a minute ago that representatives of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] left, at 2200 [2000 GMT], the room in which talks between Prime Minister Pawlak and the small coalition—KPN and the Polish Peasants' Alliance [PSL]—were being held.

KPN leader Leszek Moczulski said: We decided that we are not able to form this coalition together. At 2230, during the break in talks, Tadeusz Mazowiecki announced that after the KPN had left the room the talks were about different possibilities for resolving the situation.

Walkout Leads to Impasse in Talks

LD2006082992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Efforts by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak aimed at the formation of a new government have yielded no positive result. The coalition talks ended in an impasse. Late last night Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] representatives walked out of the talks. According to the representatives, there is no chance for the formation of a government by five parties. The main reason is a difference in opinions on the subject of economic program.

It is not known whether the talks will continue today. Prime Minister Pawlak refused to comment on this to a PAP representative. However, he announced that today, maybe, as he put it, he may take interesting personnel decisions.

Asked about the reason of the KPN's walkout, the prime minister stated that "it is never so bad that it cannot get worse."

To a question whether the coalition members with or without the KPN are able to form a coalition which could produce a government, Tadeusz Mazowiecki replied that it would have to be a minority government. The Democratic Union leader added that solutions must be sought to form a majority cabinet.

KPN Proposes Replacing Coalition Members

LD2106123392 Warsaw PAP in English 1548 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—Deputy Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] said after a closed-door meeting between Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and KPN deputies on Friday that KPN negotiators did much to get the prime minister to choose their option and not the one offered by the Liberals.

Krol also said that the prospective coalition must be more homogenous and have a stronger anti-recession orientation which may involve the necessity of replacing, to start with, the Liberals with the Christian National Union or the Peasant Alliance.

Krzysztof Krol added that if KPN joins the new government it is prepared to take responsibility for the economy.

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak did not speak to journalists after the meeting.

Daily Claims Prime Minister Pawlak To Resign

LD2206094892 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0900 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Some politicians maintain that Waldemar Pawlak will resign as early as today, while others believe the prime minister will resign from his mission only when the president demands it, GAZETA WYBORCZA writes. Some politicians are expressing the view that the future government coalition will be created by Solidarity groups with the Polish Peasant Party, for which the post of deputy prime minister would be reserved.

Deputies from the right-wing faction of the Democratic Union believe that proposals for a government to be created by the Democratic Union, Center Alliance, and Christian National Union are still valid. According to GAZETA WYBORCZA, the first resolutions should be expected after the meeting between the president and the leaders of parties and parliamentary representations scheduled for 1800.

ZChN Deputy Cited as New Walesa Choice

LD2206110192 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1000 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] At today's meeting with political parties, Lech Walesa intends to submit a new candidate for the post of prime minister, GAZETA WYBORCZA reports citing opinions in the Sejm lobbies. The paper has found out unofficially that one of the president's possible candidates is supposed to be Deputy Henryk Goryszewski, deputy chairman of the Christian Nation Union, chairman of the Sejm Economic Policy, Budget, and Finance Commission. Some politicians believe that the meeting planned for 1800 in the Belweder Palace will yield a final answer about the chances of Waldemar Pawlak's mission succeeding. Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that the question involves broadening the present coalition to ensure that the new government has greater support in parliament.

Parliament Discusses Draft of New Electoral Law

LD2006083892 Warsaw PAP in English 2121 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—A draft of a new parliamentary electoral law was Friday discussed at a plenary meeting of the Sejm (Lower House) in the first reading. The

majority of speakers presenting stands of their caucuses agreed that the adoption of a new electoral law was important and urgent.

The draft, worked out by the Democratic Union Sejm Caucus, provides for the election of ¼ of the total number of M.P.'s in single-seat districts by a majority vote. The remaining ¾ of deputies would be elected by a proportional vote.

Seats would go only to those parties and groups which would collect at least 5 per cent of the total vote nationwide. This provision is meant to prevent the fragmentation of the lower house into dozens of small Caucuses unable to form stable majorities, which is the case with the present Sejm.

Under the draft, all Polish citizens would be eligible, irrespective of whether they reside in Poland or abroad.

The majority of caucuses endorsed the five percent threshold and the elimination of the domicile requirement for candidates. However, most of the caucuses were against the election of ¼ of the house in single-seat districts. Instead, they proposed a national list of candidates.

Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) said that "the number of people in Poland who want early elections is growing fast" and urged the chamber to adopt a new electoral law within two weeks, that is at its next meeting.

Several speakers, including from the Solidarity Caucus, insisted on introducing compulsory vetting procedures for candidates for M.P.'s.

On Saturday the chamber will decide on further procedure of work on the draft.

Pawlak Urges Sejm To Dismiss Officials

LD2006101992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0840 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Address by Polish Prime Minister Pawlak to Sejm session chaired by Speaker Andrzej Kern in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Kern] May it please the House. Prime Minister Pawlak has asked me to allow him to take the floor now. In keeping with Article 76 of the regulations, I fulfill his request. Mr. Prime Minister, please take the floor.

[Pawlak] Mr. Speaker, may it please the House. I think that one should say [words indistinct] and we come to a final stage, I believe. There are no reasons to continue this discussion, if, of course, the esteemed House takes such a decision in a moment.

May it please the House. Having accepted the mission, besides the task to form a government, I am also obliged to manage the work of the Council of Ministers, to manage it in such a manner that the government can function normally, so that there are no irresponsible decisions taken. Having accepted this mission I am forced to take several resolute, but necessary, decisions, and I make those decisions in a manner which in no way infringes on either the law or dignity of persons it concerns. I offered Mr. Wlodarczyk and Mr. Macierewicz a leave because these gentlemen said that they were very much keen to take up work immediately [as heard]. I asked the gentlemen to remain at my disposal, to fulfill immediate orders, and as of that time I can see no problems as far as this side of the government functioning is concerned. I entrusted the running of the office of the Council of Ministers to Aleksander Luczak, undersecretary in this office; and Mr. Milczanowski with the running of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, you keep on addressing the House emotionally, but I am sorry to say this: those files were your idea. I am not going to get my hands dirty [babrac sie]. [applause] I am not going to pay for your lack of responsibility.

[Kern] Order, ladies and gentlemen, order. There were also strong statements... excuse me, Mr. Prime Minister—there were also strong statements addressed at the prime minister. Please keep your composure. Please, go ahead, Mr. Prime Minister.

[Pawlak] [Words indistinct] just before the debate on this item I was considering whether or not to withdraw this motion to dismiss Mr. Wlodarczyk and Mr. Macierewicz from their posts. Perhaps we will not get our hands dirty with this at the moment. Those of you who support Mr. Macierewicz and Mr. Wlodarczyk will have a chance to [word indistinct] in their own hands without using mine for this purpose. But elementary responsibility and loyalty to you, the president and the coalition members, creates a limit which must not be trespassed. Therefore, please accept that I am taking full constitutional responsibility for my actions, and I am taking this responsibility personally. I will not have anyone accuse people whom I entrusted with duties and who perform these duties in a manner which is reliable and loyal to the state. [applause]

May it please the House. We are facing a decision which will surely resolve our future... our future, perhaps for several months, perhaps for several years. We are facing a decision which will either plunge us into chaos or resposibility will prevail, and we will start working for the good of the state and society. Thank you very much.

I am putting down a formal motion to end the discussion and start voting because I think that arguments were.... Thank you. Thank you.

Sejm Recalls Wlodarczyk, Macierewicz

LD2006133692 Warsaw PAP in English 1246 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 20—After a stormy debate on Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's motion to dismiss

Wojciech Wlodarczyk as head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, the Sejm (lower house) recalled Saturday Wojciech Wlodarczyk from his post.

240 deputies voted in favour of the premier's motion, 67 - against and 15 abstained from vote.

Also on Waldemar Pawlak's motion, the Sejm recalled Antoni Macierewicz from the post of the minister of internal affairs. 243 deputies were in favour of the motion, 65 - against and 15 abstained from vote.

Earlier on Saturday, the Sejm rejected a motion of Deputy Marek Jurek from the Christian National Union (ZCHN) who demanded that voting on the premier's motions take place after Waldemar Pawlak presents his candidatures for ministerial posts.

Prosecutor Proposes Trying Critics of Walesa

LD2006131492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1228 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Statement by First Deputy Prosecutor General Stanislaw Iwanicki to Sejm session chaired by Speaker Andrzej Kern in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Kern] We will now proceed to item nine on the agenda: procedure concerning the perpetrators of the actions libelling the president of the Polish Republic. I ask First Deputy Prosecutor General Stanislaw Iwanicki to take the floor.

[Iwanicki] May it please the House! In answer to the question from Deputy Aleksander Malachowski regarding the prosecutor's failure to investigate cases of insult to and derision of the president of the Polish Republic, I would like to inform the chamber that the prosecutor's office bodies are not behaving passively in this matter.

In view of the recent intensification of this type of case, I have instructed all Voivodship prosecutors, if they have not been doing so up to now, to check whether in the local mass media there is material insulting or deriding the president of the Polish Republic or whether it is contained in speeches at meetings, rallies, or conferences. Regardless of that, in [word indistinct] cases, I have passed on information to the relevant Voivodship prosecutors indicating that the offense of insulting the president of the Polish Republic has been committed with the instruction to take immediate court action.

Among others, cassettes recording the course of meetings in various groups, which shocked public opinion, have been made secure. These cassettes constitute evidence in penal proceedings under way. Some of these proceedings are directly linked with the infringement of the obligation to maintain state secrets. This does not mean that the prosecutor's office is only now becoming interested in these cases. They have been the subject of our organ's actions previously. Several proceedings of this type, i.e. in the prosecutor's office in Kielce, are already in their final form and acts of indictment will be sent to the court in the immediate future.

Public opinion will be informed about the way each case ends. I profoundly hope that the actions of the prosecutor's office will guarantee to the president of the Polish Republic effective legal protection. Thank you for your attention.

Walesa Accuses Olszewski of Overthrow Attempt

LD1906215792 Warsaw PAP in English 1923 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—Lech Walesa accused former premier Jan Olszewski of trying to take over the presidency by alleging that Walesa was a collaborator with the communist secret police when Olszewski himself was faced with the downfall of his government on June 4.

Speaking in an interview on Friday, Walesa was hitting back in the row over the circumstances of the removal of Olszewski from office.

"The idea was to publish the files, blackmail parliamentary speakers and the president with the papers and then the scenario would be the following: In such a situation we need an interim new president elected by parliament," said Walesa.

According to Walesa the scenario would have included Antoni Macierewicz as prime minister, Jan Parys at defence and Zdzislaw Najder at foreign affairs as the "best" candidates.

He thought the way the files had been used meant that any elections held at present might end in civil war.

Asked whether he had felt threatened before June 4 Walesa said "no" because he was ready to leave the Belvedere presidential palace at any moment but in a "civilized" manner.

He claimed he had acted quickly to prevent the police and the army from being "drawn into this game".

Walesa regarded the Olszewski government as being the least able one for Poland, since it had had its hands tied behind its back because of its dependence on coalition partners. He added that he did not want to kick somebody who was down and that in normal circumstances Olszewski would not have made a bad premier.

The president refused to disclose the identity of "Cigarette Lighter", a former communist secret police agent who is said to be someone close to Olszewski and around whom there has been much recent press speculation.

Walesa was optimistic about the chances of Premier Waldemar Pawlak forming a new government. He gave the PM three months to talk to politicians.

Walesa did not exclude creating a presidential party, ("if I have no choice") and said that he might stand again for

president if problems remained unsolved and swindlers continued to make the running.

He explained the divisions among the former Solidarity opposition to the communists in the following way: "We inherited power from communism and power divided us."

Walesa Says Struggle for Power Deters Reforms

LD2106220992 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Gdansk, June 21—President Lech Walesa called for making room in Poland for those who can work well and push reforms forward. It is time to admit that the struggle is over and that those who can work better should have a say now, Walesa said before returning to Warsaw from a weekend spent in his hometown of Gdansk.

Walesa said Polish society is divided into two groups representing two ways of thinking. He described those who were good in struggle but poor when it comes to constructive work as forming the first group.

The other group of more useful professionals is losing to the former in their efforts to carry out reforms, the president claimed and added that he would try and favour the latter. Otherwise, the struggle (for power) will prolong and reforms will continue to be as ineffective as so far, Walesa warned.

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak was appointed precisely to help those from the other group to have a say in Poland. He is a strong pillar among them, Walesa declared.

The rejection of the conception of struggle does not mean the resignation from decommunization and solving the problem of former communist secret service agents, Walesa declared but added that this is a matter of secondary importance.

Christan National Union Leader Interviewed

PM1906114492 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 6-7 Jun 92 pp 5, 7

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Stefan Niesiolowski, chairman of Christian National Union Parliamentary Caucus, by correspondent Ryszarda Socha; place, date not given]

[Text][Socha] You fought the previous system for many years. Do you experience a sense of satisfaction when you look at our country today?

[Niesiolowski] I have always wanted Poland to be a democratic and independent country in which human rights are honored along with freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. And this has been achieved. I thank God daily in my prayers for having lived to see Poland's independence, and for the privilege of being a parliamentary deputy in this country. This can be counted as a tremendous success. Compared with this, the fact that this Poland now finds itself in a difficult situation is a secondary consideration.

[Socha] What would you still change in our country?

[Niesiolowski] First and foremost, we still have a vast sphere of communist influence here. When we fought in underground structures, or when we sat in jails, we believed naively that it was enough to deprive communists of power and that everything else would resolve itself very easily. We had no program for overcoming the consequences of communism. Now we can see that this is a difficult and very slow process. I would like to take away the power of the whole communist mafia which now sponges on the free Poland like a swarm of parasites. And I will resolutely continue my attempts to destroy the economic foundations of all postcommunist structures so that their mafia connections are incapacitated. At the same time we must restore political elites and also cure our society of the consequences of the moral ravages that it has suffered.

[Socha] How do you mean?

[Niesiolowski] I mean, of course, that the sick legacy of communism must be healed. For example, people must be trained to be more self-reliant and more active. After all, it is clear that the "give me" attitudes are still very widespread. There is no public acceptance of the fact that a market economy forces people to assume more responsibility for their own lives. There is still a prevailing sense of alienation from and disregard for state institutions, although these institutions now represent a democratic state. In turn, journalists are clearly unwilling to take responsibility for the written word they produce and to understand Poland's reason of state. Our press is wildly immature. It manufactures artificial tensions and creates so-called "press facts" by itself.

[Socha] Are our political elites acting according to Poland's reason of state?

[Niesiolowski] Of course, this is an extremely difficult task. But surely we can expect our journalists to make some allowances...

[Socha] You can expect them to report what they see. I trust that you would not like them to conceal the truth?

[Niesiolowski] The trouble is that they ridicule our political institutions and fail to report certain facts. They highlight the difficulties, but they do not explain their sources. They do not point out the handicap with which we started—that is, the condition of the state when the communists handed it over. They do not ask for a final reckoning with communism. They are mainly preoccupied with reflecting social demands and expectations and focusing on all shortcomings and disappointments in this sphere.

[Socha] But it was Solidarity itself which taught people to expect miracles as soon as the old order was overthrown.

[Niesiolowski] I must reiterate yet again that this was a mistake. In any case, the communists are not gone: They still have enormous influence and vast financial resources. We must deprive them of both.

[Socha] The very same communists are now setting a shining example as they diligently build a capitalist system. Would you not agree that interference in the still very thin and delicate fabric of the new economic structures could do more harm than good?

[Niesiolowski] I do not think so. I believe that this philosophy can only render us all helpless: We must not expose informers or confidential agents, and we must not pass sentences on Stalinist criminals, because this will destabilize the system. Well, I do not share this view. Just as in 1922 we introduced a law on profiteers who had grown rich through wartime speculation, we could now bring in a law on those who made their fortunes through communism.

[Socha] It seems that the majority of the population have grown tired of empty gestures made for show—of the debates on abortion or religious instruction in schools. They ask first and foremost for an efficiently run economy, for an end to recession, and for a real improvement in their living standard.

[Niesiolowski] True, but this does not render the other questions unimportant. There are very many things that the public do not care about. In any case, some do care and some do not, because society is not a homogenous formation. You could reduce the whole question to a shallower form of economism, and only concern yourself with what causes an improvement of people's material existence. Nevertheless, in my opinion such a limited view of things is not found anywhere in the world. Wherever you look, you will find debates on abortion, on the penal code, on national symbols, on the celebration of national anniversaries, and so on.

[Socha] But such debates take place in countries with established and well-functioning economic systems. Are you not at all allowing for the probability that a major proportion of problems on which your party concentrates would disappear if the economic situation were to improve?

[Niesiolowski] For example?

[Socha] In a situation of economic growth and reduced unemployment people would be more hopeful. They would not so often find an escape in alcoholism or other social pathologies. If we had more money, the situation of many children—born as well as unborn—would be much better, because we would be able to feed and support them....

[Niesiolowski] This would undoubtedly be one solution. But in addition, we also fight for our national identity and for the preservation of Christian values in our life. Unless you make sure that they are safeguarded straightaway, they will become eradicated and will never return. The example of Western Europe confirms this. The way which you are suggesting does indeed lead to affluence, but people in those countries are deprived of their identity: They have moved away from God. The ZChN will never condone such a way. We regard such a state of affairs as an evil against which we fight with all the means and methods at our disposal. I am convinced that the majority of the public support us in this task. And these are the people who vote for us. Moreover, affluent societies are by no means free of a whole range of social pathologies. They are afflicted by many plagues, such as drug addiction, terrorism, pornography, prostitution, sexual deviations, and AIDS.

[Socha] How many people voted for your party?

[Niesiolowski] Nationally, ten percent.

[Socha] With a relatively low election turnout.

[Niesiolowski] All parties face this problem. However, we do not insist on achieving anything by force. If we gain majority support in the Sejm our proposed solutions will become laws.

[Socha] How do you explain the fact that the ZChN has many adversaries among believers—frequently even among deeply committed believers?

[Niesiolowski] There is no single reason that could explain it. If I receive a letter in which someone writes that he is a Catholic, but does not consider abortion a moral problem, then there is no common ground on which we can meet. He is not a Catholic. Declarations of faith from such people are meaningless noises. Lack of support from such people is not the same as lack of support from our fellow believers, but evidence of the vast reaches of religious ignorance among Poles. If some people maintain that in this one respect the pope is wrong, and that they know better, then we have no common ground on which to meet. I can understand people who are imperfect, who are sinners, but I maintain that a person who declares that he is simply not bound by selected rules out of the ten commandments is not a Catholic.

[Socha] Many people blame you for compromising the church's authority by involving it in temporal power games and political skirmishes.

[Niesiolowski] Personally, I do not share this view. But maybe I am not entirely without bias. I see this charge as tendentious and unjustified. We do not involve the church in any political or other interplay. Just as other Christian parties, we operate on the principle that we alone take full responsibility for our actions. Admittedly, the church did support us publicly in the election. And the holy father granted us an audience.

[Socha] Precisely.

[Niesiolowski] To claim that our activity can be "charged to the church's account" is to suggest that we are doing something without its approval that the church does not condone. But the situation is exactly the opposite. We have been given support both by the church and by the holy father. True, it concerned just one area of our work as activists fighting in defense of the life of the unborn children. But this constitutes a crucial element of our program.

[Socha] As a result, anticlerical attitudes are gaining ground in society.

[Niesiolowski] I believe that this claim is unfounded. It is promoted by the forces of the left, which dominate the media. This noisy minority aims to create precisely such an impression. Nevertheless, a vast majority of children do attend religious instruction classes. This proves that society as a whole has preserved its close attachment to the church. The claim which you have quoted is just false propaganda based on falsified public opinion surveys. Forgive me, but your questions lack depth and fail to touch the heart of the matter. The crucial question is whether at the present postcommunist stage Poland should be built and developed according to the principles of secular humanism, or whether it should continue to draw on its existing Christian tradition. Now that we have overthrown communism, should the church—which until now played the important role of the only truly free structure—be moved to the outermost margin of our life, as intended by whole lay milieus analogical to those which now dominate Europe? This is precisely the crucial contentious issue.

[Socha] Is it inevitable that we perceive this problem in terms of contention or conflict? I feel it is rather a question of individual choice. Anyone who values Christian principles and tenets and the Catholic tradition will surely not depart from them. If we are really a Catholic nation, then the sum total of our individual decisions will prove it without the need to conduct a full-blown public crusade in defense of these principles.

[Niesiolowski] In Sweden identification with Christian values is also a matter of individual choice. But please note that these values are very hard to discern in their society. The same situation will prevail here in Poland if the media continue their hate campaign against the church. Who can defend and protect these values? In the communist system the church commanded authority as the force which actively and openly opposed communism. But now....

[Socha] Now the church's close involvement in political games damages its authority rather than enhances it.

[Niesiolowski] So you presumably believe that Christian parties should disappear from the political scene. This view was promoted by the Democratic Union. They claimed that, since Christians are present everywhere in our society, there is no need to set up separate Christian parties. But Christian parties are part of the political scene in many European countries. In some they even run the state.

[Socha] But they are more liberal and more pragmatic.

[Niesiolowski] Am I to understand that Christian parties are generally allowed as long as they are different from the model adopted by the ZChN? Who is to decide which Christian parties are sufficiently liberal and pragmatic to be allowed to survive, and which do not deserve to live? The claim seems to be that if the ZChN vanished from the scene, maybe religious involvement in society would grow and deepen.

[Socha] It is not inconceivable.

[Niesiolowski] I do not share this view. If we disappear from the scene, then the values which we defend will disappear, too. Apart from our party, there are precious few forces which would care about them enough to protect them.

[Socha] You are motivated by the belief that you have a mission.

[Niesiolowski] I am a politician, not a missionary. There is a difference between these concepts.

[Socha] What difference?

[Niesiolowski] A missionary must be a bit of a fanatic. He must convert people and he must struggle to gain new ground for his faith. We, on the other hand, simply present our program. We do not set out to convert anyone. Those who want us will vote for us and elect us. Whenever a politician is described as a person with a mission, there is a slight sense of ironical distance in the description. I believe that this kind of irony, directed at parliamentary deputies—hailing not only from the ZChN but also from other parties—who work very hard indeed in Poland's interests, is entirely out of place.

Officials, Parties React to Events in Moldova

Foreign Ministry on Dniester Events

AU2106152292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Here is the statement issued today at noon by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania has learned with deep concern about the serious evolution of events that began yesterday, 20 June, in the Republic of Moldova, as the 14th Army gave an ultimatum and units of that Russian Army—deployed on the territory of that sovereign and independent state—started committing acts of force. By doing so, the 14th Army openly broke the neutrality to which it had committed itself. Similarly, it cannot be asserted any more that one is dealing with elements that are not under control; we are experiencing a deliberate policy of undermining the legitimate government of the Republic of Moldova and an attempt to block the democratic process going on in that state. This is a serious act, by which foreign military forces are trying to prevent order-keeping authorities and military units of the Republic of Moldova from re-establishing and ensuring order with respect to the actions of the [separatist] guards and of other unconstitutional paramilitary organizations, the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania reads.

In a surprising way, those actions were launched after the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova—after long discussions, attended by deputies from all rayons of the republic—passed certain decisions meant to lead to a general and final settlement, exclusively through peaceful means, of the situation in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester of the Republic of Moldova.

It cannot be mere coincidence that whenever political efforts are on the verge of achieving progress, acts of force, which have the obvious goal of thwarting those efforts, are resorted to. Such an act is bound to amplify violent separatist actions and to discourage peaceful and democratic settlement efforts.

The overt involvement of the 14th Army in the events taking place in the town of Tighina [Bendery] leads to the aggravation of the situation, with severe consequences for the entire area. It is clear that the acts of force and the ultimatums of the 14th Army represent a gross violation of the principles and commitments agreed upon within the CSCE and in the UN Charter.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania wishes to reassert that the only way to solve the current situation is to observe the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova, as well as its constitutional and legislative framework, which allows for the peaceful solution of its internal problems.

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphatically calls for reason and responsibility concerning the chances for peace in that region and, generally, in Europe.

Romania reasserts its readiness to participate again in all efforts meant to politically solve the extremely difficult situation that has been created, and to solve all problems by means of already existing mechanisms designed to peacefully settle the conflict.

FSN Endorses Moldovan Leadership

AU2006185392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] We received the following communique by fax: The National Salvation Front [FSN] endorses the decision of the leadership of the Republic of Moldova, which is aimed at giving a firm reply to the separatist and neo-communist forces that infringe upon its integrity and endanger the process of democratic transformation going on in that country.

The FSN also expresses hope that the Russian Federation will abstain from any involvement in events taking place in the Republic of Moldova, respecting its sovereignty, and that it will order the 14th Army—which is under its jurisdiction—to maintain full neutrality, as a prelude to its complete withdrawal from the country on the territory of which it happened to be deployed only temporarily.

In such dramatic and crucial moments, the FSN thinks that the institutions of the Romanian state of justice and the political and social groupings in Romania have the moral duty to reassert their support for our brothers' fight for dignity, to promptly and caringly respond to actions meant to express moral and material solidarity, and to use all possible methods in order to reinitiate and make permanent the international current favoring the Republic of Moldova's status as a sovereign state, reads the communique issued by the FSN press bureau.

Delegation Leader on Events

AU2106163192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1531 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/6/1992—On Sunday, June 21, before leaving for Chisinau to attend a new—emergency—session of the four-party commission, Constantin Ene, secretary of state at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, leader of the Romanian delegation, stated that the meeting aims at discussing the events taken place in the Dniester region on June 20, when, following the ultimatum of the Russian 14th Army that it will start action on June 20 at 2000—which happened—the acts of force in the conflict area intensified. "The worrying novelty is the open involvement of the Russian Army in that conflict," as the Romanian diplomat noted.

This act is much more surprising and understandable, he also showed, taking into consideration that only a day before the Republic of Moldova's Parliament—whose proceedings had been also attended by deputies from the districts on the left bank of the Dniester—had adopted a clear resolution in favour of peacefully settling the situation.

Mr. Constantin Ene also opined that a direct military intervention of Romania in the conditions of internationalising the conflict "would not represent the best solution. The first act to be made would be to resort to the CSCE mechanisms for open aggression—such as the case is here."

Mr. Ene considered that the possibility of a military coup in Bessarabia is "a mere speculation."

The secretary of state interpreted the U.S. stand on the conflict in the Dniester region—which pleaded for a settlement without any foreign interference—as a reference not to Romania's involvement but "to those states having troops on Moldova's territory, judging at least by the U.S. official statements."

Ministry Denies Pilots Involved

AU2206110492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] The Romanian Ministry of National Defense denied information published by a Tiraspol newspaper according to which preparations are underway at Marculesti Airport in the Republic of Moldova for the arrival of Romanian pilots there; the paper also does not exclude the participation of Romanian aircraft in nighttime military actions, without signs of identification.

In a communique received by fax, the Ministry of National Defense terms the news reports published by the Tiraspol publication as devoid of any real grounds and emphasizes that no Romanian pilot or soldier has been or is involved in the conflict in the Republic of Moldova. As it has often stated in the past, Romania wants a political and negotiated solution, not a military one, to the problems in the Dniester region, the communique points out. Such false information is a dangerous provocation aiming at justifying the actions undertaken by units of the 14th Army, which is under Russia's jurisdiction, on the side of the separatists in the Dniester region.

Moldova Termed Romanian Territory

AU2206130892 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Johannes Krotzky report on interview with Ionel Sandulescu, state secretary in the Romanian Foreign Ministry; place and date not given; passages within quotation marks are recordings of Sandulescu statements, in Romanian with passage-by-passage German translation]

[Text] [Sandulescu] "The Republic of Moldova was, is, and will forever remain Romanian territory."

[Krotzky] This is a declaration and, at the same time, a political program. Ionel Sandulescu is state secretary in the Romanian Foreign Ministry. Most Romanians think like him. Therefore, the government in Bucharest is affected directly by Moldova's conflict with the seceded Dniester Republic. A war might be imminent.

[Sandulescu] "The supreme objective of the Romanian Government is not to get involved in the conflict in any way, even though traps have been set for us in this respect. However, this does not mean that we renounce Moldova in any form."

[Krotzky] What kind of traps?

[Sandulescu] For example, a massive attack by the 14th Russian Army beyond the Dniester on Moldova.

If Moscow really intervenes militarily in favor of the Russians in Moldova, this will lead to the development of the next war scenario in the Balkans. Romania would be required to assist its compatriots in Moldova. From Bucharest's point of view, this is not even primarily a nationality conflict. In the Romanian Foreign Ministry, it is pointed out that the West is ignorant about the statistical details. Of course, the Russian population does not form the majority in the seceded Dniester Republic. Deputies from the other side of the Dniester participate in regular sessions of the Moldovan Parliament in the Moldovan capital Chisinau.

In the opinion of leading Romanian politicians, the conflict is intended to bring about two things: First, in the case of the reunification of Romania and Moldova, the industrial economic area beyond the Dniester is to be split off. Second, further Romanian territorial claims would be checked right from the beginning. After the Hitler-Stalin Pact, Romania lost more than only today's Republic of Moldova to the Soviet Union. The other territories, northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia, today belong to Ukraine. Ukraine, for its part, is involved in territorial conflicts with Russia.

State Secretary Sandulescu in the Bucharest Foreign Ministry sees, of course, the imminent danger of a regional explosion. We certainly do not want this, he affirms. And he adds: But, this does not mean that we will forget what belongs to us.

Nation Will Observe FRY Embargo 'Strictly'

AU1906193292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/6/1992—The Romanian Ministry of Trade and Tourism will strictly observe the embargo put on Serbia and Montenegro by the UN Security Council, Constantin Fota, trade and tourism minister, stated during that ministry's weekly news conference, specifying that an argument to it is the Order

No. 88 of June 6, 1992 which annulled all the import-export licences of the economic agents having foreign trade activities with the two republics.

The aforementioned order also stops all touristic activities organised by the said ministry.

These measures, the minister showed, have three exceptions, namely: the hydropower and navigation complex at the Iron Gates which cannot operate separately, the cooperation between 'Pancevo' and 'Solventul' plants and the cooperation between 'Comtim'-Timisoara and its Yugoslav partner, an action stipulating supplies of meat for fodder.

Taking into consideration these exceptions, the relevant ministry—through the Foreign Affairs Ministry—asked the Security Council for a derogation as well as for global compensations because Romania's direct and indirect losses caused by that embargo are well known.

Further Mr. Constantin Fota added: "We are expecting a resolution of the UN Security Council and hope to be well understood because the economic interests, in general, are enormous."

Mr. Fota mentioned that he is under great pressure from the economic agents in Romania whose economic interests have been deeply affected by the annulment of the import-export licences.

"Being conscious of the economic impact of these measures and trying to help these economic agents to surmount the present difficulties, we are—at the same time—very firm in observing the sanctions. Our support is a professional and logistic one, of identifying alternative solutions to surmount this difficult situation we are in and which we wish to be as short as possible," Mr. Fota said.

Another subject approached during the news conference was connected with the imported wastes and with certain regulations to that end finalised in a draft governmental resolution to be signed as soon as possible.

Romania, Azerbaijan Establish Diplomatic Ties

AU2206120892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1032 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/6/1992—By an exchange of verbal notes between Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the two countries convened to establish diplomatic relations at the level of embassies and to make exchange of diplomatic representations, reads a communique of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The two governments expressed their wish to develop relations of friendship and mutually advantageous collaboration between Romania and the Republic of Azerbaijan in keeping with the aims and principles of the UN Charter, of the Helsinki Final Act and of other CSCE documents.

Miners Protest Economic Plan, Lack of Subsidies

AU1906183892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1439 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/6/1992—The Steering Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions in Mining in Romania decided to open a labour conflict with the Ministry of Industry starting June 17, shows a communique sent to the national news agency ROMPRES by the chairman of the Executive Bureau of that federation.

The reasons behind the conflict are listed in the document: the economic policy promoted by the government and the ministry in the mining sector, the financial blockage, the lack of subsidies to autonomous units, the inadequate financing of geologic research activities, and the lack of coherent programmes to ensure real social protection.

Presidency Declares Bosnia in 'State of War'

LD2006143292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] A regular news conference was held again today in the international press center in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency building. Neven Andjelic reporting:

[Andjelic] A piece of news which has attracted attention here is that until yesterday Bosnia-Hercegovina was at the point of an imminent threat of war, and that as of today Bosnia-Hercegovina is in a state of war. A state of war has been declared and Dr. (?Munir) Brkic was expected to attend the news conference to explain the implications of the decision to declare the state of war. Unfortunately, due to a mistake Dr. Brkic did not address us, but we have succeeded in obtaining an exclusive recording which will be broadcast in the 1600 [1400 GMT] news bulletin, when you will be able to learn more about the implications.

In brief, what ensues is a general mobilization, the introduction of a 24-hour compulsory work obligation for all public enterprises, as well as a compulsory work obligation for other firms and enterprises from 0700-1900 [0500-1700 GMT].

The guest at today's news conference was Fikret Abdic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, who distributed a document in which he advocates peaceful options, despite the fact that he voted for the introduction of the state of war. In his document entitled "Peace Is a Victory for Democracy," Abdic says that Bosnia-Hercegovina's major problem is the war now being waged on its territory. The Republic's future depends on whether the war is protracted or whether peace is established in which political issues will be resolved by political means.

There are fears that the war option imposed on us has cost us (?tens of thousands) of lives and has caused a considerably higher number of physical and mental wounds.

A peace solution is based on the premise that we need peace and that we wish to spare people enormous suffering. The world public also is of the view that peace is an urgent goal, and has given support to the plans for calming the situation.

All this would help to promote Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent, sovereign, and territorially indivisible state.

A statement or rather a report was also distributed to us by the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Government Information Office. The report contains a very important piece of information, to the effect that in response to a report by the Sarajevo security services center, and based on the well-founded suspicion that a group committed a criminal act of genocide under Article 141 of the SFRY penal code, which the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has inherited, on 12 June 1992 the higher prosecutor's office in Sarajevo submitted a request to set in motion an investigation against 41 persons. Out of this group, one in three is born outside Bosnia-Hercegovina. The list is topped by Radovan Karadzic and the entire leadership of the Serb Democratic Party. It also includes a large number of officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army.

Another piece of news: The republic's crisis center for health and social welfare has announced that, according to figures issued by the health institutions, which are in a position to deliver their reports, in the last 24 hours in Bosnia-Hercegovina 258 people have been injured and 56 killed, with 99 injured and 23 killed registered in Sarajevo alone.

Orders Residents To Report for Duty

AU2206112592 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 June 92

[Text] On the basis of a decree by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency proclaiming a general mobilization and introducing a state of war, and in order to incorporate armed individuals and groups into the units of the armed forces, Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Staff of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, issued the following order:

Number one. All residents who are of age and who possess personal arms and ammunition, with or without a license, but are not part of the units of the army or the police, have a duty to report immediately or within 24 hours of the public proclamation of this order at the latest to the nearest communal Staff of the Territorial Defense with their arms and ammunition.

All persons who possess arms and ammunition will be incorporated in the combat units of the army or the police, or they will—this applies to those who are not capable of service in the armed forces—merely hand in their arms and ammunition in exchange for a receipt to arm the members of the armed forces.

Number two. The organs of the military police and members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are responsible for the implementation of this decree. After the expiration of the deadline for handing in arms following from this order, they will search all residents for whom there is an indication that they possess arms and ammunition. All persons found in possession of arms and ammunition will be brought forcefully to the nearest staff and the strictest measures will be applied to them in the military court.

Abdic 'Demands' U.S. Military Intervention

AU2006152592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jun 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] There is some fierce shooting in Sarajevo today as well, the fiercest being in the region of the Novi

Grad Commune. Muslim forces tried to break through Dobrinja toward the airport again this morning. Along with infantry weapons, the Muslim forces also used artillery in shelling Serbian positions. The army of the Serbian republic responded resolutely and pushed the Muslim forces further away toward Alipasino Polje and Vojnicko Polje. The Serbian army is completing the job of liberating the Dobrinja settlement.

There was fighting in the region of the Jewish cemetery, where the Muslim forces launched an attack on Serbian positions. The Serbian territorials have successfully rejected that attack as well. [passage omitted]

Military defeats suffered by the Muslim side are probably one of the reasons for Fikret Abdic, member of the incomplete Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to say at the news conference today that he had demanded the military intervention of the United States and George Bush personally. Fikret Abdic informed the public today that the rump Presidency had proclaimed a state of war. Serbia, Montenegro, the Yugoslav People's Army, and extremists from the Serbian Democratic Party have been pointed to as aggressors. Nothing has been said about the Republic of Croatia, which has about 40,000 soldiers in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is interesting that Nenad Kecmanovic and Mirko Pejanovic also voted in favor of such a decision, as well as in favor of accepting a military pact with Croatia.

Fikret Abdic admitted today that there is a concentration camp for Serbs in the Kosevo [soccer] stadium. He said that the Presidency had condemned that, but failed to say what is in the stadium at the moment. According to some information, 2,500 Serbs are still imprisoned in the Kosevo stadium. Fikret Abdic also admitted that Vojo Milijas, director of the Sarajevo Commercial Bank, was arrested on two occasions.

The Muslim information media have once again crudely misinformed the public today. They announced that a certain General Daidza has hit Pale from Igman and set the Panorama Hotel on fire and that the Serbs from Pale, that is, chetniks, as they are called by the Muslim media, are fleeing in panic. As we are sending this report from Pale, the truth is that life in Pale is normal. These, of course, are not the only lies that the information media of Bosnia-Hercegovina are sending, but this one best shows all the means they are using.

40,000 Reported Killed, 1.4 Million Displaced

LD2106166392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina this afternoon carried the full text of a decision passed by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency yesterday declaring a state of war and a general mobilization in the republic.

As explained, the decision was passed "because the aggression by Serbia, Montenegro, the Yugoslav People's Army and terrorists from the ranks of the Serb Democratic Party has continued and because over 40,000 people have been killed and 1.4 million have been displaced so far." It is added that in conjunction with the Security Council, the United Nations, the EC, and other international institutions, Bosnia-Hercegovina will continue to search for a peaceful solution to the conflict in the republic through negotiations which will have to take into consideration its dignity, independence, and integrity.

At the proposal of the Bosnia-Hercegovina armed forces general staff, the Presidency at the same time issued an order declaring general mobilization on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Under the order, all miltary reservists in the 18 to 55 age group must report to the nearest Territorial Defense unit.

Serb Republic Denounces State of War Proclamation

LD2106162892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—"The proclaimed state of war is a clear confirmation that the Muslim-Croat side is still opting for a military and not a political solution," a statement of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina says "in connection with yesterday's proclamation of the state of war on the part of the Presidency of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina." The statement, which is carried by the SRNA News Agency today, says:

This official call to war must be seen as a form of institutionalized pressure on the civilian population, specifically on citizens of Serb nationality who are forced to fight with their brothers.

The published decision is obviously contrary to the UN Protection Force peace goals and UN Security Council Resolution 752.

The purpose of the decision is not entirely clear. However, the only conclusion to be drawn from it is that the proclamation on the state of war sanctions the aggression against the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Since this warmongering decision was made the same day when General Mackenzie asked for a 48-hour ceasefire, to enable work on the reopening of Sarajevo airport to continue, it is clear that the decision is contrary to the interests of the citizens of Sarajevo and the entire international community.

We call on all people of goodwill who want a peaceful resolution of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis to resist this call for war. All those wanting protection on the territory of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be welcomed as fighters for peace. All that is necessary under these conditions will be secured for the families of all people of goodwill, irrespective of nationality, the

statement of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina stresses.

MacKenzie Says 'Neither Side' Kept Promises

AU1906172992 Paris AFP in English 1708 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, June 19 (AFP) - The U.N. Friday postponed plans to deploy military observers around Sarajevo Airport and repair its installations with a view to getting in humanitarian aid after mortar fire and intense gunfire marred a five-day-old truce.

"Neither side lived up to its promises," General Lewis MacKenzie, head of the U.N. Protection Force here, told AFP following the resurgence of fierce fighting in the besieged capital of Bosnia- Hercegovina.

Sixty U.N. observers who arrived a day earlier were to have monitored the use of artillery around the airport with a view to opening up a corridor for humanitarian aid to the city, said to be on the verge of starvation.

But the Serbs and the Bosnian forces had barely concluded an agreement to remove heavy weapons from around the airport, when intense clashes erupted, with shells raining down on the centre of Sarajevo for the first time in several days.

Fierce gun battles began around noon and were still going on at 5:00 p.m. (1500 GMT).

Local radio reported clashes in the Nedjarici district near the airport and the U.N. force headquarters, as well as in several other parts of town.

"It appears there were major exchanges of firing today," MacKenzie said, adding that it would be "naive to think it will be possible to centralize artillery if firing continues" and "impossible to send observers."

The airport has been in the hands of Serbian forces besieging the city for the past two months.

Eighty-three U.N. force experts detailed to repair airport intallations so aid flights can land spent the night at the airport but the renewed fighting prevented them from receiving supplies or being withdrawn.

Despite the violence, MacKenzie pledged to continue efforts to reopen the airport. "I will pursue the agreement," he said, referring to the accord reached earlier Friday. [passage omitted] Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina that they are "on the road to all-out war" at meeting in Strasbourg Thursday.

Dispute Reported Among Territorial, Croatian Units

AU1906171192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 June 92

[Text] Today, Bosnia-Hercegovina radio received a statement by [name indistinct], commander of the Novi Travnik Territorial Defense Headquarters, concerning the worsening of the situation there yesterday and today.

The Novi Travnik Territorial Defense believes that the complications emerged over marginal issues and that for the sake of residents the clashes [sukobi] must be resolved through mutual agreement.

The Territorial Defense Headquarters believes that the clashes between the Territorial Defense, the units of the Croatian Council of Defense, and the Croatian Defense Forces, are unnecessary as their enemy is common and they should fight it together. The members of the Novi Travnik Territorial Defense wish and are willing to reach a political consensus in order to maintain peace and order and bring the situation to the previous state.

Bearing in mind that the situation has deteriorated in the Vitez, Bugojno, Travnik, areas, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency is asked to take certain steps to calm the worsened political and security situation.

Foreign Minister Denies Military Pact With Bosnia

LD1906190492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Zagreb, June 19 (TANJUG)—The new foreign minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Zdenko Skrabalo, on Friday [19 June] said that "no military pact exists" between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, also a former Yugoslav republic.

Skrabalo told a press conference in Zagreb that reports on a military alliance between the two republics were "fabricated."

He qualified as "an unfounded campaign" the report by United Nations Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali on the involvement of Croatian troops in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Vice-premier of the Croatian Government Zdravko Tomac on June 14 revealed that Croatia was forming a military alliance with Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that Presidents Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina had discussed concrete Croatian military assistance to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The existence of the alliance was confirmed by Izetbegovic at a press conference in Sarajevo on June 16, when he admitted that Croatian troops were fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said that Croatia was not an aggressor, but helping the Moslem fight the Serbs, whom Imcic calls aggressors.

Circles close to the European Community's Brussels headquarters say that the Croat-Bosnian alliance could have serious and long-term consequences on further developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Sources close to the United Nations Security Council say that the world organization is gravely concerned by the forming of the alliance, adding that some diplomats maintain that the Croat-Bosnian coalition is directed against the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The U.N. New York headquarters fear that the alliance could instigate a fierce Croat-Moslem offensive against the positions of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which could lead to a full-scale war in the Balkans.

Spokesman of the U.S. State Department Margaret Tutwiler said in Washington on Thursday that the United States had called on all sides to the conflict in Yugoslavia to refrain from violence on a number of occasions.

The European Community and the United States have asked for additional explanations of the military pact between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Greguric Plans To Regain 'Historical' Territories

LD2106175392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 21 Jun 92

["Pool" item; by Sava Jankovic]

[Text] Knin, June 21 (TANJUG)—The official Croatian policy has not given up its territorial claims towards neighbouring Bosnia-Hercegovina and is repeating its intention to realize them "by hook or by crook."

A Croatian-Bosnian military pact to fight Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, announced last week, is meant to legalize the occupation of a larger part of Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory by regular Croatian troops and members of a pro-fascist Croatian paramilitary formation, the HOS [Croatian Party of Rights].

Already in their election campaign two years ago, leaders of the now ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) were promising their electorate a Croatia within borders comprising parts of the neighbouring republic.

Authorities in Zagreb now repeat that Croatia will regain its "historical borders," those of a World-War-Two puppet fascist state, the so-called "Independent State of Croatia."

Croatian authorities have long tried to deny the Croatian Army's presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali clearly stated in his reports to the Security Council of May 30 and last week that Croatian Army was fighting in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina and that a part that territory was already under its control.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and President of Bosnia-Hercegovina's rump Presidency (without its legally elected Serb representatives) Alija Izetbegovic, a Moslem, last week finally admitted that Croatian Army was indeed present in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Croatian Premier Franjo Greguric last week addressed threats to the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), formed by Serbs in the areas within administrative borders of Croatia where they constitute majority or significant minority, in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

The R.S.K. is now under protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

"With or without UNPROFOR, Croatia will regain its "historical territories'," said Greguric.

Ten days ago, Tudjman told reporters that the situation now was different from the one half a year ago, when Croatia agreed to the arrival of the U.N. force.

Lately, UNPROFOR members have been disposed in the most sensitive zones and along lines of contact between the parties to the conflict. At the same time,

Croatian forces are attacking the Serb territorials' positions in the R.S.K. areas bordering on those controlled by Croatian authorities.

Blue helmets [UNPROFOR members] last week witnessed an artillery attack by Croatian forces in the Dalmatian battlefield. The peacekeepers found shelter on the side of Serb Krajina fighters.

Groups of Croatian Army saboteurs are causing anxiety among the population by frequent incursions behind the front lines and crimes.

General Milan Torbica, commander of the R.S.K. Territorial Defence Headquarters, has invited politicians and leaders from Cazinska Krajina and Bihac, the region and the town respectively from which the saboteurs are coming, to come and discuss peaceful solutions for accumulated problems. "If we cannot be close relatives, we can at least be good neighbours," he said.

The general is still awaiting a response

Krajina Government Proclaims Mobilization

LD2106201792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 21 Jun 92

[Text] Knin, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—As a result of the fierce clashes which have been taking place since this morning in the Dalmatian battlefield throughout the region of Drnis, general mobilization has been proclaimed in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Krajina Government President Zdravko Zecevic said this evening.

Addressing the citizens of Krajina, Zecevic called on them to be resolute and united in offering resistance to the aggressor forces, the Croatian Army.

As is known, early this morning Croatian armed formations launched a general offensive throughout the region of Drnis. An infantry attack was preceded by artillery fire along the entire front of the Dalmatian battlefield.

Zecevic confirmed that a number of fighters of the Krajina units have been put out of action. According to information which TANJUG's reporter received at the St. Sava Hospital in Knin, 13 wounded were brought in today, including five with serious injuries.

The Krajina Government president said that the representatives of the UN Protection Force and the EC had called on the warring sides to cease fire immediately and absolutely. The Krajina Government does not agree to this, as Zecevic said in his address to the citizens of Krajina, and is calling for the Croatian forces to withdraw to their former positions.

A meeting also took place this evening of the executive council of the Knin municipal assembly, which decided that all restaurants and bars should be closed from 2100 until further notice.

Serb Withdrawal 'Going According to Plan'

LD2206133692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1205 GMT 22 Jun 92

[Text] Croatian Radio's correspondent in Nova Gradiska said that the withdrawal of artillery guns and military vehicles is going according to plan, although it's thought Serbian forces are simply relocating their equipment to Bosnia. However yesterday it was reported that Serbian forces had hidden two howitzers in the Okucani region, as they had done earlier with small arms and mortar guns.

The Command for the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Croatia today stated that Sector West is now under their jurisdiction. Heavy weapons have already started being evacuated from the area.

Seven checkpoints have been opened by UNPROFOR between territory under Croatian command and territory occupied by the Serbs. Essential services and local Croatian Government is expected to be returned to the area tomorrow centered in Pakrac and Pakracka Poljana.

Federal

Presidency Holds Consultations With Party Leaders

LD2006205992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 20 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) should observe a hundred-day silence on the political scene in order that a new federal government should have a chance to be constituted and to propose a solution to the crisis.

This suggestion came from Milan Paroski and Dragoslav Petrovic, members of the opposition National Party, in their meeting with F.R.Y. President Dobrica Cosic on Saturday [20 June].

Cosic is spending the weekend in consultations with opposition figures on a premier-designate and possible ways out of the country's political and economic crisis.

The press has been excluded from the consultations, and all information that has filtered out has come from party officials at press conferences.

Paroski said the National Party had asked that, at the declaration of the one-hundred-day silence, the president announce a day for an early general election. He also said that his party was prepared to join a government of national unity.

'We agreed that the question of the Albanian minority in (the Serbian province of) Kosovo should be discussed as soon as a new government has been appointed,' said Tomislav Sekulic, a non-party member of parliament from Kosovo-Metohija.

A delegation of the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia, headed by the party's leader Dragan Atanasovski, said that federal premier should be a Montenegrin, as envisaged under the federal constitution when president is from Serbia.

Andras Agoston, the president of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Vojvodina, says that his party is determined to do nothing at this difficult moment to hamper the efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

We agreed to seek lasting solutions to minority problems in frank and democratic dialogue, without impatience on either side. We presented to Mr President our concept of autonomy, which absolutely rules out secessionism, said Agoston.

Cosic Names Presidency's New Secretary General

LD1806112292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 June (TANJUG)—Following Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic's decision, Miodrag Mitic today was appointed Secretary General of the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Miodrag Mitic has so far been a legal adviser to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

National Bank Officials on Financial Chaos

92BA1064C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by Lj. Cudomirovic: "The Republics Are To Blame for Half of the Inflation"]

[Text] For months now, we have had no access to the basic data of balance sheets from which we could make a projection of future money and credit policy such as we have always had in the form of the principal monetary movements—there has been only one, probably the most important, assessment, and this was expressed during yesterday's brief meeting of journalists with those who are most responsible in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, headed by Governor Dusan Vlatkovic, practically at the end of his present term.

Nevertheless, yesterday's entire statement by the most expert people of the National Bank of Yugoslavia comes down to just a few facts in the context of the financial anarchy which has raged for months now throughout Yugoslav financial space and numerous speculations related to foreign exchange transactions. The National Bank of Yugoslavia is not responsible for at least 30 to 50 percent of the present inflation. That is, that is the amount of the present inflation that the top officials in the National Bank attribute to the independent recourse to primary note issue by the national banks of the republics and provinces, asserting this and documenting it with the example: Recently, a governor boasted of the foreign exchange reserves which at some point must come within the limits of the foreign exchange reserves of the remainder of Yugoslavia.

A Bad Job

That has not been shown anywhere on a balance sheet! And had they from the beginning respected the decisions which they themselves had voted for in the Board of Governors, the foreign exchange reserves which they now possess would have been purchased—counting on a value of 400 dinars for 1 mark. As it is, every day they have been buying 600, 700, and even more dinars, portraying this as a success.

In short, key officials of the National Bank of Yugoslavia did not conceal its resignation at the fact that for months now everything that they have proposed to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia and the FEC [Federal Executive Council] has been related to stabilization of the exchange rate and the Yugoslav monetary situation has been unable to get a green light "solely because the only two remaining republics, i.e., their political leaderships, had a different position on this."

The governors of the national banks of Serbia and Montenegro have been promptly and "on the table" notifying the National Bank of Yugoslavia of everything that they must point out in meetings of the Board of Governors and everything that they must do afterward to oppose what has already been agreed to. In the common language, the people understand, it all comes down to just a few figures.

Financial Disorder

We are demanding that in coming days the new Yugoslavia and the future Assembly optimalize to the extreme all the financial and material assets and commit support from note issue exclusively to agriculture and the fuel and power industry. We do not think that new money should be printed for what comes further down on this list, which is the shortest in our history. One of the key officials of the National Bank of Yugoslavia was categorical, explaining the present situation in the extreme case of isolation from the most recent measures of the blockade that have been prepared in the UN Security Council.

"The entire stabilization program can be jeopardized following the immense financial disorder which has prevailed in Yugoslav financial space for a long time and which, put most briefly, has been favored by the national banks of the republics and the social accounting departments, and we have not had any data on this at all," said a categorical Dusan Vlatkovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

"The new Yugoslavia can begin without all of us, but it cannot be based on a lack of financial discipline, on the spending of what belongs to someone else, and without a conception that work organizations must basically return to work and renewal of the accumulation that has already been destroyed," Dusan Vlatkovic said at the end of yesterday's conversation with newsmen.

[Box, p 9]

Figures on Financial Chaos

"Although people who have concurred with the measures of an interventionist monetary policy have sat among us and still sit among us in the effort of the Board of Governors up to this point, as soon as they have left the Board, they have acted differently, following, they say, the orders of their political superiors," was the observation of one of the top officials of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. "At this moment we really do not know the extent of the unauthorized issuing of money outside the control of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, nor can we obtain data on this. According to our calculations, the total rate of inflation is at least between 30 and 50 percent higher than it would have been if the republics had honored the agreed monetary policy."

In short, it looks like this, viewed on a monthly basis:

Monthly Inflation (%)	Annualized (%)
January 36.0	4,130
February 42.5	6,011
March 41.2	6,181
April 78.1	101,750
May 80.8	121,900

"These are horrible things, and they indicate the chaos that has prevailed in the last two months. We really are not defending ourselves, but in spite of all the measures which we have adopted, we are helpless unless in the framework of future financial discipline appropriate steps are taken quickly, as President Milosevic recently announced. We could find ourselves in a situation of complete disintegration unless in coming months complete control is reestablished over the use of primary note issue and over the future formation and support of the rate of foreign exchange, and the new Yugoslavia could end up in financial ruin," Dr. Vukasin Markovic, who until yesterday was vice governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and recently was named an adviser to it, told newsmen at yesterday's meeting.

Current Yugoslav Army Ordinance Detailed

92BA1071A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 92 pp 30-31

[Article by "A.C.": "Military Junk"—first paragraph is VREME introduction]

[Text] In better, earlier times, the JNA was considered one of the four (or even three) strongest armed forces in Europe. Analysts took its ordnance and personnel potential seriously, whatever they thought about the "national-liberation and revolutionary tradition" upon which it had built its local reputation and, proportional to the myth, its privileges. Besides these analysts, "analysts" of the three still-uncompleted Balkan wars estimate that these armed forces have not only been defeated, but that they have also definitively disintegrated. It is still possible to express different opinions on this subject, based on the obvious fact that the armed forces, despite serious defeats and even more detrimental mistakes that they themselves have committed, are still in existence. How long they will last is no longer a military question, but rather one of what in the Balkans is liberally referred to as "politics."

The prewar inventory of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] was impressive, even given the reservations concerning the usability of a large part of the weaponry and equipment. Of the approximately 1,850 tanks, half can be qualified as modern (300 M-84's) or not too obsolete (850 T-55A's and T-54's), unlike the others (400 T-34's, a certain number of which were nevertheless used in

domestic "theaters of operation," 300 M-4's, etc.), supported by a little more than a thousand armored personnel carriers. The air force, except in two cases which were confirmed by photograph—the first four months ago, when it bombed its own threatened column of equipment being evacuated, and two weeks ago, with the unsuccessful bombing of the bridge over the Sava at Bosanski Brod—has not used its "pride and joy," comprising two squadrons of MiG-29's, a total of 18 airplanes. Instead, it has flown obsolete supersonic MiG-21's (122 airplanes; one of them was responsible for shooting down the helicopter from the EC Mission in January of this year) and MiG-21N's (18), as well as the somewhat more modern, domestic Super Galeb G-4's (60 airplanes), Galebs (25), Eagle-1's (25), and Eagle-2's (55). Helicopters (70 obsolete Mi-8's and 120 licensed Gazelas) have been used primarily to transport the wounded and in one successful move by the JNA, a helicopter-borne assault in Capljina; transport planes (2 An-12's and 15 An-26's) were finally used in recent days in the withdrawal of soldiers from Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]. The prewar navy kept five classic and six pocket submarines in its "stables," as well as 30 obsolete torpedo and missile boats, 30 patrol ships, 14 minesweepers, 35 landing craft, and six relatively modern missile gunboats, or four frigates.

Forced Acknowledgment

The armed forces, in piecemeal fashion and under pressure from public opinion, has thus far acknowledged around 2,000 dead and at least three times that number in wounded soldiers and officers. Reports from the "opposing side" about the scale of their victories, naturally, are many times greater. The chaos provoked by desertions based on nationality and by the "blood and soil" appeal has not, at least for now, lead to the disintegration of army such as it was in 1941. It is impossible, however, to estimate the number of people who now belong to the VJ (Armed Forces of Yugoslavia); the former JNA had a standing force of 185,000 (80,000 officers and 90,000 to 105,000 drafted recruits) and around half a million reservists on the front line, and 1.5 million inductees in the territorial defense forces. If we take the "dependable" population as the "personnel basis" for the armed forces of the latest Yugoslavia, then it could constitute an army of 60,000 people (i.e., five divisions, incomparably smaller than the "seven million warriors" that Tito "promised" Walter Cronkite some 15 years ago, when we liked America).

Its "equipment" has been proportionally diminished in the latest Balkan wars. It is a known fact that a hundred or so tanks and self-propelled pieces were left behind in Slovenia (judging from those that are openly awaiting a "division of assets" in Cerklje, this is outdated equipment), and that 65 tanks in good condition (primarily T-55A's) were left in Varazdin alone. The armed forces acknowledge that 170 tanks and 142 armored vehicles have been taken away from them; in addition, it is unknown how many have been destroyed, but the figure of at least a hundred is the low end of a realistic estimate. There are no figures on the number of heavy artillery pieces (before the war, it was estimated that there were around 2,000 high-caliber "barrels" and almost an incredible quantity of ammunition reserves), but the arrogance with which all the armies and "para-armies" here are using artillery shells provides the worst proof of how much of this has found its way into the right, murderous hands. Two airplanes (MiG-21's) were "left" for Croatia, and defecting pilots took four more of the same type with them; seized (or destroyed) were some 40 airplanes of various types (mostly "Hawks" and "Eagles") and 30 helicopters (or a little less, not because they were better protected, but because they were not adequately armed).

Inventory Shortage

Missing from the inventory lists of the JNA, alias the VJ, is also a multitude of "trifles" in terms of type and quantity: 15,000 rifles, 600 artillery pieces, 2,000 antitank missiles, 13,000 mines, 550 pieces of rocket artillery, 500 automatic rifles, 30,000 bombs, around 10 million cartridges, and an undetermined (or undisclosed) quantity of explosives. It is unknown—or someone carefully chose the moment to disclose the quoted figures, before the "redislocation" out of B-H—how much, whom, and what the former JNA has left behind in the territory that it was forced to abandon, for defense of the "hearth," i.e., the scene of the fire. It is also impossible to appraise the "gains" made by the ex-JNA through mining, disabling, or demolishing and/or plundering "its own" property (the airfields in Bihac and Tuzla, equipment and the housing fund in Macedonia, communication installations, explosives in "disabled" missiles, bombs, and mines, etc.).

The loss is inestimable. Not because of the banal fact that military prosecutors have brought 700 cases of criminal charges for theft and "surrender" against a hundred officers, 50 noncommissioned officers, 500 soldiers, and scores of "doves," nor because of the depressing loss of an entire industry, meaning jobs lost by at least 150,000 people in B-H alone, and not even because of the "truncation" of a state in which there is reason to fear that the armed forces will not also be truncated. What is really frightening is one "prewar" fact: For half a century, while the former SFRY lived in peace, not even part of the weaponry left over from the Second World War was taken away from the population. How many centuries will be necessary for us to be disarmed after all this? Thus, the only response to the question about the estimability of the losses is a Zen counterquestion:

What is the value of a dead cat?

Serbia

Milosevic Agrees To Meet Tudjman, Izetbegovic

LD1906182692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 19 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on Friday [19 June] accepted an

invitation by chairman of the Yugoslavia Peace Conference, Lord Carrington, to meet with the presidents of the ex-Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in Strasbourg, France, on June 25.

"As always, I will be glad of the opportunity of exchanging views with you in the interest of our joint efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis as soon as possible in a peaceful and just way," Milosevic said in a letter to the British diplomat.

He said that he had informed the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, about the invitation.

"I support the resumption of our joint activities and cooperation in the interests of peace and the success of the conference," Milosevic said.

Lord Carrington sent the invitation to the leaders of the three republics in an attempt to immediately halt the fighting in Bosnia as it is slipping out of control and threatening to expand outside Yugoslav territory.

DEPOS Open Letter to Army Calls for Restraint

LD2006152392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 20 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] today sent "an open letter to officers and soldiers of Serbia and Montenegro" calling on the latter "to show common sense and restraint and not to allow ideological motives to guide them."

"In the light of your professional attitude and your know-how, we expect you to assume an attitude which will help in the efforts to honorably and peacefully pull out of the ghetto in which we have unjustly found ourselves. We firmly believe that you will fulfill such expectations and, once the danger has disappeared, no one will be able to question your contribution to a peaceful and secure life," the letter says.

DEPOS notes that "many mistakes of a moral and military nature have been made" and that both the military and civilian command were made up of people who, to a large extent, were guided by mistaken political aims.

"Regardless of all that, you had to carry out orders in accordance with military discipline. You cannot be held responsible for orders given to you or for acts of treason which the supreme command failed to prevent," DEPOS states in its letter.

DEPOS then notes that the army cannot belong to any [political] party nor can it support any other interests but those of the people. Further, "in a democratic state to which we aspire, the army will be the country's permanent strength with the protection of the borders as its main task."

"We believe that you will do your utmost to ensure that the citizens of this country overcome this difficult period without pain or suffering," the letter concludes.

Belgrade Professors Support Students' Demands

LD2006100892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2131 GMT 19 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 19 (TANJUG)—The board of professors of the Belgrade University on Friday [19 June] expressed full support for the demands of several thousand Belgrade students, who have been on strike since Monday [15 June].

The students of some 20 Belgrade faculties demand that the Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia step down and allow the calling of special elections.

The professors expressed support for the students' demands after a delegation of the Belgrade University talked with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on Wednesday [17 June].

The board of professors issued a statement to the effect that they are dissatisfied with the fact that Milosevic 'did not accept an argumented dialogue on proposals of the university declaration, and failed to point out the ways of overcoming the crisis.'

Milosevic has also been accused of 'trying to deny the university the right to engage its intellectual potentials to seek the best options for the country's salvation at the most decisive moment for its future.'

Milosevic did not declare himself on the student demands in his talk with the university delegation. The students demand Milosevic's resignation, the dissolving of the Serbian Parliament and Government, the forming of a national salvation government and the calling of elections for a constituent assembly.

Milosevic only said that the politization of the university was unacceptable.

Several thousand students of the Belgrade University continued their strike on Friday evening.